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And Saul perceiued that it was Samuel, and he
stouped with his face to the ground, and
bowed himself. 1st Samuel. Chap: 23: v 14.

W. Faithorne. fecit

Sadducismus Triumphatus:

Or, A full and plain

EVIDENCE,

CONCERNING

Witches and Apparitions.

IN TWO PARTS.

The First Treating of their

POSSIBILITY.

The Second of their

Real EXISTENCE.

By JOSEPH GLANVIL, Chaplain in Ordinary to King CHARLES II. and F.R.S.

The Fourth Edition, with Additions.

The Advantages whereof, the Reader may understand out of Dr. H. MORE's Account prefixed hereunto. Also, Two Authentick, but wonderful Stories of certain *Swedish* Witches. Done into *English* by Dr. HORNECK.

WITH

Some Account of Mr. GLANVIL's Life and Writings.

L O N D O N:

Printed for A. Bettesworth, and J. Batley, in Pater-noster-Row ;
W. Mears, and J. Hooke, near Temple-bar, in Fleet-street.

M DCC XXVI.

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AN INDEPENDENT



1757

THE HISTORY OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON

FROM ITS INSTITUTION

TO THE PRESENT TIME

By JOHN HENRY DODD, Esq. F.R.S. &c.
Vol. I. Part I. The Institution of the Society, 1660-1679.

By JOHN HENRY DODD, Esq. F.R.S. &c.

Printed by J. G. ALLEN, 10, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.



SOME
ACCOUNT
Of the AUTHOR'S
LIFE and WRITINGS.



It must certainly be allowed, to be as useful, as it is entertaining, to give some Account of the Author of a Work which for its Learning, and the Integrity of the Writer, has justly been admired by every Reader for above sixty Years.

Mr. *Glanvill* was born at *Plymouth*, in the Year 1636, and receiv'd his University Education in *Exeter* College, *Oxon*, under the Tuition of *Samuel Couant*, M. A. By whom he was severely disciplin'd to Religion, Logick and Philosophy. *

* See, *Wood's Athen. Oxon. Fol. Vol. II. Pag. 662, & Seq.*

The Author's LIFE.

Triumphatus, &c. Our Author's chief Antagonist was Mr. *John Webster*, Practitioner in Physic and Surgery, whose Treatise against him was call'd, *A Display of supposed Witchcraft*, &c. Mr. *Scott*, in his *Discovery of Witchcraft*, seconded him against Mr. *Glanvill*; but the impartial Reader will, I doubt not, acknowledge that the pretended Arguments of both these Writers are by Mr. *Glanvill*, and his learned Friends, now clearly refuted.

We shall, therefore, in this Place close all, by perpetuating the Memory of Mr. *Glanvill* in the following excellent and just Character of him, as drawn up by the sincere Pen of his beloved Friend Dr. *Horneck* * “ He had a
“ Mind, *says he*, fitted for Contemplation, and
“ his Divinity like his Philosophy was free
“ from Dogmatizing; even the most obvious
“ Truths, when coming from our Author, re-
“ ceiv'd a greater Lustre. As his Wit lay out
“ of the common Road, so every Offspring of
“ his fertile Brain soars above the common
“ Level. Death seem'd to envy the vast Parts
“ of so great a Man, and in the Ascent of his
“ Age snatch'd him away, when the learned
“ World expected some of his greatest At-
“ tempts, and Enterprizes. As he valued no
“ Notions, that were mean and trivial, so those
“ he hath sent abroad, favour of a more than
“ ordinary Genius. His Soul seem'd to be
“ spun of a finer Thread than those of other

* See, Mr. *Glanvill's* Remains, 4to. 1681, publish'd by him.

The Author's LIFE.

“ Mortals, and Things look'd with another
“ Face, when they pass'd through the quick-
“ er Fire of his Laboratory.

To conclude, The worthy Preacher of his
Funeral Sermon * Thus took his Leave of the
Audience upon that mournful Occasion. “ I
“ had once thought to have given you his Cha-
“ racter, but I am not asham'd to tell you, I
“ found myself not able to do it worthy of
“ him. And calling to Mind a Saying of one of
“ the *Roman* Historians, I soon desisted from
“ any farther Attempt of it ; who, when he was
“ reckoning up some of the great Men of that
“ Age, *Virgil* and *Ovid*, *Livy* and *Salust*, and
“ going to commend them, stops, and con-
“ cludes thus :” *Men of Eminency, as their Ad-
miration is great, so is their Censure full of
Difficulty.*

* The Revd. Mr. *Joseph Pleydell*, Archdeacon of *Chichester*,





THE
PUBLISHER
TO THE
READER.

READER,



HAT thou hast no sooner enjoy'd this long expected Edition, thou can'st not justly blame either the Author or myself: Not myself, for I could not publish the Book before I had it, nor the Author, because many unexpected Occasions drove off his Mind to other Matters, and interrupted him in his present Design; insomuch, that he was snatch'd away by Death, before he had quite finished it. But tho' the learned World may very well lament the Loss of so able and ingenious a Writer, yet, as to this present Point, if that may mitigate thy Sorrow, in all Likelihood, this Book had not
A
seen

TO the READER.

een the Light so soon, if he had lived ; so many emergent Occasions giving him new Interruptions, and offering him new Temptations to further Delay : Indeed it had been desirable, that it might have had the Polishing of his last Hand, as the Peruser of his Papers signifies in his last Advertisement ; but to compensate this Loss, the said Peruser, a Friend as well to his Design as to his Person, has digested those Materials he left into that Order and Distinctness, and has so tied Things together, and supplied them in his Advertisements, that, to the judicious Reader, nothing can seem wanting that may serve the Ends of his intended Treatise ; not to intimate what considerable Things are added more than it is likely had been, if he had finished it himself ; for besides the Advertisements of the careful Peruser of his Papers, and that notable late Story of the Swedish Witches, translated, out of the German, into the English Tongue ; there is also added, a short Treatise, of the true and genuine Notion of a Spirit, taken out of Dr. More's Enchiridion Metaphysicum, to entertain those that are more curious Searchers into the Nature of these Things ; the Number also of the Stories are much encreased above what was designed by Mr. Glanvill, tho' none admitted but such as seemed very well attested, and highly credible, to his abovesaid Friend, and such as, rightly understood, contain nothing but what is consonant to right Reason and sound Philosophy, as I have heard him earnestly avouch, tho' it had been too tedious to have explained all ; and it may be more grateful to the Reader, to be left to exercise his own Wit and Ingenuity upon the rest. These are the Advantages this Edition of Mr. Glanvill's Dæmon of Tedworth, and his Considerations about Witchcraft, have above any Edition before ; tho' the last of them was so bought up, that there was not a Copy of them to be had in all
London

TO the READER.

London and Cambridge, but the Peruser of his Paper was fain to break his own, to serve the Press with. If these Intimations may move thy Appetite to the reading so pleasant and useful a Treatise, and yet I can add one Thing more touching the Story of the Dæmon of Tedworth, which is very considerable ; it is not for me indeed, to take notice of that Meanness of Spirit in the Exploders of Apparitions and Witches, which very strangely betray'd itself in the decrying of that well attested Narrative, touching the Stirs in Mr. Mompeffon's House ; where, altho' they, that came to be Spectators of the marvellous Things there done by some invisible Agents, had all the Liberty imaginable, even to the ripping of the Bolsters open, to search and try if they could discover any natural Cause and cunning Artifice, whereby such strange Feats were done ; and Numbers, that had free Access from Day to Day, were abundantly satisfied of the Reality of the Thing, that the House was haunted and disturb'd by Dæmons or Spirits ; yet some few Years after the Stirs had ceased, the Truth of this Story lying so uneasy in the Minds of the Disgusters of such Things, they rais'd a Report, when none of them, no not the most diligent and curious, could detect any Trick or Fraud themselves in the Matter : That both Mr. Glanvill himself, who published the Narrative, and Mr. Mompeffon, in whose House these wonderful Things happen'd, had confess'd the whole Matter to be a Cheat and Imposture ; and they were so diligent in spreading abroad this gross Untruth, that it went current in all the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, an egregious Discovery of what Kind of Spirit this Sort of Men are ! which, as I said, though it be not for me to take notice of, yet I will not stick to signify it, being both for mine own Interest, and the Interest of Truth, that those Reports raised, touching Mr. Glanvill, by his Preface to the second

TO THE READER.

Part of the Book ; that touching Mr. Mompeffon, by two Letters of his own, the one to Mr. Glanvill, the other to myself, which are subjoin'd to the said Preface : Which Thing alone may justly be deemed to add a very great Weight to the Value, as of that Story, so of this present Edition ; but I will not, upon Pretence of exciting thy Appetite, keep thee from the satisfying it by an overlong Preface ; which yet, if it may seem to be defective in any thing, the Doctor's Letter (where, amongst other Things, you shall meet with that famous and well attested Story of the Apparition of Anne Walker's Ghost to the Miller) will, I hope, make an abundant Supply. I shall add nothing more myself, but that I am,

Your humble, &c.





Dr. MORE's Letter, to Mr. GLANVILL, minding him of the great Expedience and Usefulness of his new intended Edition of the Dæmon of Tedworth, and briefly representing to him the marvellous Weakness and Gullery of Mr. Webster's Display of Witchcraft.

S I R,



H E N I was at *London*, I called on your Bookfeller,* to know in what Forwardness this new intended Impression of the Story of the *Dæmon of Tedworth* was, which will undeceive the World touching that Fame spread abroad, as if Mr. *Mompesson*, and yourself, had acknowledged the Business to have been a meer Trick or Imposture. But the Story with your ingenious Considerations about Witchcraft, being so often printed already, he said, it behoved him to take care how he ventur'd on a new Impression, unless he had some new Matter of that Kind to add, which might make this new Edition the more certainly saleable; and therefore he expected the Issue of that noised Story of the Spectre at *Exeter*, seen so oft for the discovering of a Murther committed some thirty Years ago. But the Event of this Business, as to juridical Process, not answering Expectation, he was discouraged from making use of it, many Things being reported to him from thence, in favour to the Party most concerned. But I told him a Story of one Mrs. *Britton*, her appearing to her Maid after her Death, very well attested, though not of such a tragical Kind as that of *Exeter*, which he thought considerable. But of Discoveries of Murther, I never met with any Story more plain and unexceptionable, than that in Mr. *John Webster* his Display of supposed Witch-

Witchcraft: The Book indeed, itself, I confess, is but a weak and impertinent Piece; but that Story weighty and convincing, and such as himself (though otherwise an affected Caviller against almost all Stories of Witchcraft, Apparitions) is constrained to assent to, as you shall see from his own Confession. I shall for your better Ease, or because you haply may not have the Book, transcribe it out of the Writer himself, though it be something, *Chap. XVI. Pag. 298.* about the Year of our Lord 1632.) as near as I can remember, having lost my Notes, and the Copy of the Letters to Serjeant *Hutton*, but am sure that I do most perfectly remember the Substance of the Story.) Near unto *Chester*, in the Street, there lived one *Walker*, a Yeoman of good Estate, and a Widower, who had a young Woman to his Kinswoman, that kept his House, who was, by the Neighbours, suspected to be with Child, and was, towards the Dark of the Evening, one Night, sent away with one *Mark Sharp*, who was a Collier, or one that digged Coals under Ground, and one that had been born in *Blakeburn Hundred* in *Lancashire*; and so she was not heard of a long Time; and no Noise, or little, was made about it. In the Winter-time after, one *James Graham*, or *Grime* (for so in that Country they call them) being a Miller, and living about 2 Miles from the Place where *Walker* lived, was one Night alone very late in the Mill, grinding Corn; and, about 12 or 1 o' the Clock at Night, he came down the Stairs from having been putting Corn in the Hopper; the Mill Doors being shut, there stood a Woman upon the midst of the Floor, with her Hair about her Head, hanging down, and all bloody, with five large Wounds on her Head. He, being much affrighted and amaz'd, began to bless himself; and, at last, ask'd her who she was, and what she wanted? To which she said, *I am the Spirit of such a Woman, who lived with Walker, and being got with Child by him, he promised to send me to a private Place, where I should be well look'd to, till I was brought to Bed, and well again; and then I should come again and keep his House. And accordingly, said the Apparition, I was one Night late sent away with one Mark Sharp, who, upon a Moor, naming a Place that the Miller knew, slew me with a Pick, such as Men dig Coals withal, and gave me these five Wounds, and after threw my Body into a Coal-pit hard by, and hid the Pick under a Bank; and his Shoes and*
Stockings

Stockings being bloody, he endeavoured to wash 'em; but seeing the Blood would not forth, he hid them there. And the Apparition further told the Miller, that he must be the Man to reveal it, or else that she must still appear and haunt him. The Miller returned Home very sad and heavy, but spoke not one Word of what he had seen, but eschewed as much as he could to stay in the Mill within Night without Company, thinking, thereby, to escape the seeing again of that frightful Apparition. But notwithstanding, one Night when it began to be dark, the Apparition met him again, and seemed very fierce and cruel, and threatened him, that if he did not reveal the Murder, she would continually pursue and haunt him; yet, for all this, he still concealed it until *St. Thomas's Eve* before *Christmas*; when being, soon after Sun-set, walking in his Garden, she appeared again, and then so threatened him, and affrighted him, that he faithfully promised to reveal it next Morning. In the Morning, he went to a Magistrate, and made the whole Matter known with all the Circumstances; and diligent Search being made, the Body was found in a Coal-pit, with five Wounds in the Head, and the Pick and Shoes and Stockings yet bloody, in every Circumstance as the Apparition had related unto the Miller; whereupon *Walker* and *Mark Sharp* were both apprehended, but would confess nothing. At the Assizes following, I think it was at *Durham*, they were arraigned, found guilty, condemn'd and executed; but I could never hear they confess'd the Fact. There were some that reported the Apparition did appear to the Judge, or the Foreman of the Jury, who was alive in *Chester* in the Street about ten Years ago, as I have been credibly inform'd, but of that I know no Certainty: There are many Persons yet alive, that can remember this strange Murder and the Discovery of it; for it was, and sometimes yet is, as much discoursed of in the North Country, as any Thing that almost hath ever been heard of, and the Relation printed, tho' now not be gotten. I relate this with the greater Confidence (though I may fail in some of the Circumstances) because I saw and read the Letter that was sent to Serjeant *Hutton*, who then lived at *Goldsbrugh* in *Yorkshire*, from the Judge before whom *Walker* and *Mark Sharp* were tried, and by whom they were condemn'd, and had a Copy of it until about the Year 1658, when I had it and many other Books and Papers taken from me; and

this I confess to be one of the most convincing Stories, being of undoubted Verity, that ever I read, heard, or knew of, and carrieth with it the most evident Force, to make the most incredulous Spirit to be satisfied, that there are really, sometimes, such things as Apparitions; thus far he. This Story is so considerable, that I make mention of it in my *Scholia*, on my Immortality of the Soul, in my *Volumen Philosophicum*, Tom. 2. which I acquainting a Friend of mine with; a prudent, intelligent Person. Dr. J. D. he of his own Accord offer'd me, it being a Thing of such Consequence, to send to a Friend of his in the North, for greater Assurance of the Truth of the Narrative, which Motion I willingly embracing, he did accordingly. The Answer to this Letter, from his Friend Mr. *Shepherdson*, is this, *I have done what I can to inform myself of the Passage of Sharp and Walker; there are very few Men that I could meet, that were then Men, or at the Trial, saving these two in the inclosed Paper, both Men at that Time, and both at the Trial; and for Mr. Lumley, he lived next Door to Walker, and what he hath given under his Hand can depose, if there were Occasion. The other Gentleman, writ his Attestation with his own Hand; but I, being not there, got not his Name to it. I could have sent you twenty Hands, that could have said thus much, and more by Hearsay, but I thought these most proper, that could speak from their own Eyes and Ears.* Thus far Mr. *Shepherdson*, the Doctor's discreet and faithful Intelligencer; now for Mr. *Lumley* of *Lumley*, being an antient Gentleman, and at the Trial of *Walker* and *Sharp*, upon the Murder of *Anne Walker*, saith, That he doth very well remember that the said *Anne* was Servant to *Walker*, and that she was supposed to be with Child, but would not disclose by whom; but being removed to her Aunt's in the same Town, called *Dame Caire*, told her Aunt, that he, that got her with Child, would take Care both for her and it, and bid her not trouble herself. After some time she had been at her Aunt's, it was observed, that *Sharp* came to *Lumley* one Night, being a sworn Brother of the said *Walker's*; and they two, that Night, called her forth from her Aunt's House, which Night she was murder'd; about fourteen Days after the Murder, there appeared to one *Graine* a Fuller, at his Mill, six Miles from *Lumley*, the Likeness of a Woman, with her Hair about her Head, and the Appearance of five

Wounds

Wounds in her Head, as the said *Graine* gave it in Evidence, that that Appearance bid him go to a Justice of Peace, and relate to him, how that *Walker* and *Sharp* had murdered her in such a Place as she was murdered ; but he fearing to disclose a Thing of that Nature, against a Person of Credit as *Walker* was, would not have done it ; upon which, the said *Graine* did go to a Justice of Peace, and related the whole Matter. Whereupon the Justice of Peace granted Warrants against *Walker* and *Sharp*, and committed them to a Prison ; but they found Bail to appear at the next Assizes, at which, they came to their Trial, and, upon Evidence of the Circumstances, with that of *Graine* of the Appearance, they were both found guilty and executed.

WILLIAM LUMLEY

THE other Testimony is of Mr. *James Smart*, of the City of *Durham* ; who saith, that the Trial of *Sharp* and *Walker* was in the Month of *August*, 1631, before Judge *Davenport*. One Mr. *Fairhair* gave it in Evidence upon Oath, that he saw the Likeness of a Child stand upon *Walker*'s Shoulders, during the Time of the Trial ; at which Time, the Judge was very much troubled, and gave Sentence that Night the Trial was, which was a Thing never used in *Durham*, before nor after ; out of which two Testimonies, several Things may be corrected or supplied in Mr. *Webster*'s Story, though it be evident enough, that, in the Main, they agree ; for that is but a small Disagreement as to the Years, when Mr. *Webster* says about the Year of our Lord 1632, and Mr. *Smart*, 1631. But unless at *Durham* they have Assizes but once in the Year, I understand not so well how *Sharp* and *Walker* should be apprehended some little while after St. *Thomas*'s Day, as Mr. *Webster* has it, and be tried the next Assizes at *Durham*, and yet that be in *August*, according to Mr. *Smart*'s Testimony. Out of Mr. *Lumley*'s Testimony, the Christian Name of the young Woman is supplied, as also the Name of the Town near *Chester* in the Street, namely *Lumley* ; the Circumstances also, of *Walker*'s sending away his Kinswoman with *Mark Sharp*, are supplied out of Mr. *Lumley*'s Narrative, and the Time rectified, by telling it was about fourteen Days till the Spectre appeared after the Murther, when as Mr. *Webster* makes it a long Time.

Two

Two Errors also more are corrected, in Mr. *Webster's* Narration, by Mr. *Lumley's* Testimony; the Distance of the Miller from *Lumley*, where *Walker* dwelt, which was six Miles, not two Miles, as Mr. *Webster* has it; and also that it was not a Mill to grind Corn in, but a Fuller's Mill, the Apparition, Night by Night, pulling the Cloaths off *Grime's* Bed, omitted in Mr. *Webster's* Story, may be supplied out of Mr. *Lumley's*; and Mr. *Smart's* Testimony puts it out of Controversy, that the Trial was at *Durham*, and before Judge *Davenport*, which is omitted by Mr. *Webster*. And whereas Mr. *Webster* says, there were some that reported, that the Apparition did appear to the Judge, or the Foreman of the Jury; but of that he knows no Certainty. This Confession of his, as it is a Sign he would not write any Thing in this Story, of which he was not certain, for the Main; so here is a very seasonable Supply for this, out of Mr. *Smart*, who affirms that he heard one Mr. *Fairhair* give Evidence upon Oath, that he saw the Likeness of a Child stand upon *Walker's* Shoulders, during the Time of the Trial: It is likely this Mr. *Fairhair* might be the Foreman of the Jury, and, in that the Judge was so very much troubled, that himself also might see the same Apparition, as *Webster* says Report went; though the Mistake in Mr. *Webster* is, that it was the Apparition of a Woman; but this of the Child was very fit and apposite, placed on his Shoulders, as one that was justly loaded or charged with that Crime of getting his Kinswoman with Child, as well as of plotting with *Sharp* to murder her.

The Letter also, which he mentions writ from the Judge, before whom the Trial was heard, to Serjeant *Hutton*, it is plain out of Mr. *Smart's* Testimony, that it was from Judge *Davenport*; which, in all Likelihood, was a very full and punctual Narrative of the whole Business, and enabled Mr. *Webster*, in some considerable Things, to be more particular than Mr. *Lumley*; but the Agreement is so exact, for the Main, that there is no Doubt to be made of the Truth of the Apparition. But that this, forsooth, must not be the Soul of *Anne Walker*, but her Astral Spirit, this is but a fantastick Conceit of *Webster* and his *Paracelsians*, which I have sufficiently shewn the Folly of in the *Skolia*, on my Immortality of the Soul, *Volum. Philosoph. Tom. 2. Pag. 384.*

THIS Story of *Anne Walker*, I think, you will do well to put amongst your Additions, in the new Impression of your *Dæmon of Tedworth*, it being so excellently well attested, and so unexceptionably in every Respect; and to hasten, as fast as you can, that Impression, to undeceive the half witted World, who so much exult and triumph in the extinguishing the Belief of that Narration, as if the Crying down the Truth of that, of the *Dæmon of Tedworth*, were indeed the very slaying of the Devil, and that they may now, with more Gaiety and Security than ever, Sing, in a loud Note, that mad drunken Catch,

Hey ho! the Devil is dead, &c.

Which wild Song, though it may seem a Piece of Levity to mention; yet believe me, the Application thereof bears a sober and weighty Intimation along with it, *viz.* that these Sort of People are very horribly afraid there should be any Spirit, lest there should be a Devil and an Account after this Life; and therefore they are impatient of any Thing that implies it, that they may with a more full Swing, and, with all Security from an after Reckoning, indulge their own Lusts and Humours in this; and I know, by long Experience, that nothing rouses them so out of that dull Lethargy of Atheism and Sadducism, as Narrations of this Kind, for the Being of a thick and gross Spirit, the most subtle and solid Deductions of Reason, does little Execution upon them; but this Sort of sensible Experiments cuts them, and stings them very sore, and so startles them, that, by a less considerable Story by far than this of the Drummer of *Tedworth*, or of *Anne Walker*, a Doctor of Physick cried out presently, *If this be true, I have been in a wrong Box all this Time, and must begin my Account anew.*

AND I remember an old Gentleman in the Country of my Acquaintance, an excellent Justice of Peace, and a Piece of a Mathematician, but what Kind of a Philosopher he was, you may understand from a Rhime of his own making, which he commended to me at my taking Horse in his Yard, which Rhime is this,

*An Ens is nothing till Sense finds out:
Sense ends in nothing, so naught goes about.*

Which Rhime of his was so rapturous to himself, that at the reciting of the second Verse, the old Man turn'd himself about

about upon his Toe, as nimbly as one may observe a dry Leaf whisk'd round in the Corner of an Orchard-walk, by some little Whirlwind. With this Philosopher, I have had many Discourses, concerning the Immortality of the Soul, and its Distinction; when I have run him quite down by Reason, he would but laugh at me and say, this is Logick. *H.* calling me by my Christian Name, to which I replied, this is Reason, *Father L.* (for so I used, and some others, to call him) but it seems you are for the new Lights, and immediate Inspiration, which I confess he was as little for, as for the other; but I said so only in Way of Drollery to him in those Times, but Truth is, nothing but palpable Experience would move him; and being a bold Man, and fearing nothing, he told me, he had used all the magical Ceremonies of Conjuraton he could, to raise the Devil, or a Spirit, and had a most earnest Desire to meet with one, but never could do it. But this he told me, when he did not so much as think of it, while his Servant was pulling off his Boots in the Hall, some invisible Hand gave him such a Clap upon the Back, that it made all ring again; so thought he, now I am invited to the Converse of my Spirit; and therefore, so soon as as his Boots were off, and his Shoes on, out he goes into the Yard and next Field, to find out the Spirit that had given him this familiar Clap on the Back, but found none, neither in the Yard nor Field next to it.

BUT though he did not feel this Stroke, albeit he thought it afterwards (finding nothing came of it) a mere Delusion; yet not long before his Death, it had more Force with him than all the Philosophical Arguments I could use to him, though I could wind him and non-plus, as I pleased; but yet all my Arguments, how solid soever, made no Impression upon him; wherefore, after several Reasonings of this Nature, whereby I would prove to him the Soul's Distinction from the Body, and its Immortality, when nothing of such subtle Considerations did any more Execution on his Mind, than some Lightning is said to do, though it melts the Sword on the fuzzy Consistency of the Scabbard: *Well, said I, Father L, though none of these Things move you, I have something still behind, and what yourself has acknowledged to me to be true, that may do the Business; do you remember the Clap on your Back, when your Servant was pulling off your Boots in the Hall? Assure yourself, said I, Father L, that Goblin will be the first that*
will

will bid you welcome into the other World. Upon that, his Countenance chang'd most sensibly, and he was more confounded with this rubbing up his Memory, than with all the Rational or Philosophical Argumentations that I could produce.

INDEED, if there were any Modesty left in Mankind, the Histories of the Bible might abundantly assure Men of the Existence of Angels and Spirits; but these Wits, as they are taken to be, are so jealous, forsooth, and so sagacious, that whatever is offered to them, by Way of established Religion, is suspected for a Piece of politick Circumvention; which is as silly notwithstanding, and childish, as that Conceit of a Friend of yours, when he was a School-Boy in the lowest Form of a Country Grammar School, who could not believe scarce, that there were any such Men as *Cato* and *Æsop*, *Ovid*, *Virgil*, and *Tully*, much less that they wrote any such Books, but that it was a Trick of our Parents, to keep us up, so many Hours of the Day together, and hinder us from the enjoying our innocent Pastime in the open Air, and the Pleasure of planting little Gardens of Flowers, and of hunting of Butter-flies and Humble-bees.

BESIDES, though what is once true, never becomes false, so that it may be truly said, it was not once true; yet these shrewd Wits suspect the Truth of Things, for their Antiquity, and, for that very Reason, think them the less credible: Which is wisely done, as of the old Woman the Story goes of, who being at Church in the Week before *Easter*, and hearing the tragical Description of all the Circumstances of our Saviour's Crucifixion, was in great Sorrow at the reciting thereof, and so solicitous about the Business, that she came to the Priest after Service, with Tears in her Eyes, dropping him a Courtsy, and asked him how long ago, this sad Accident happen'd; to whom he answering, about fifteen or sixteen Years ago; she presently begun to be comforted, and said, *Then in Grace of God it may be true.* At this Pitch of Wit, in Children and old Wives, is the Reason of our professed Wit-wou'd-be's of this present Age, who will catch at any slight Occasion, or pretence, of mis-believing those Things that they cannot endure should be true.

AND forasmuch as such coarse grain'd Philosophers as those *Hobbians* and *Spinozians*, and the rest of that Rabble, fight Religion and the Scriptures, because there is such
express

exprefs Mention of Spirits and Angels in them, Things that their dull Souls are fo inclinable to conceit to be impoffible ; I look upon it as a fpecial Piece of Providence, that there are ever and anon fuch fresh Examples of Apparitions and Witchcrafts, as may rub up and awaken their benumm'd and lethargick Minds, into a Suspicion at leaft, if not Affurance, that there are other intelligent Beings, befides thofe that are clad in heavy Earth or Clay ; in this, I fay, methinks the Divine Providence does plainly outwit the Powers of the dark Kingdom, in permitting wicked Men and Women, and vagrant Spirits of that Kingdom, to make Leagues or Covenants one with another ; the Confeflion of Witches againft their own Lives, being fo palpable an Evidence, befides the miraculous Feats they play, that there are bad Spirits, which will neceffarily open a Door to the Belief that there are good Ones ; and, laftly, that there is a God.

WHEREFORE let the fmall Philofophick *Sir-Foppings* of this prefent Age deride them, as much as they will, thofe, that lay out their Pains in committing to writing certain well attested Stories of Witches and Apparitions, do real Service to true Religion and found Philofophy, and the moft effectual and accommodate to the confounding of Infidelity and Atheifm, even in the Judgment of the Atheifts themfelves, who are as much afraid of the Truth of thefe Stories, as an Ape is of a Whip ; and therefore force themfelves with Might and Main, to difbelieve them, by reason of the dreadful Confequence of them, as to themfelves. The Wicked fear, where no Fear is, but God is in the Generation of the Righteous ; and he that fears God, and has his Faith in *Jesus Chrift*, need not fear how many Devils there be, nor be afraid of himfelf, or his own Immortality ; and therefore, it is nothing but a foul dark Confcience within, or a very grofs and dull Conftitution of Blood, that makes Men fo averfe from thefe Truths.

BUT however, be they as averfe as they will, being this is the moft accommodate Medicine for this Difcfe, their Diligence, and Care of Mankind, is much to be commended, that make it their Bufinefs to apply it ; and are refolv'd, though the Peevifhnefs, and Perverfenefs of the Patients, makes them pull off their Plaifter, as they have this excellent one of the Story of the *Dæmon* of *Tedworth*, by decrying it as an Impofture, fo acknowledged by both yourfelf, and

POSTSCRIPT.

II

and Mr. *Mompesson*, are resolv'd, I say, with Meekness and Charity, to bind it on again with the Addition of new Filletting, I mean other Stories sufficiently fresh, and very well attested and certain. This worthy Design therefore of yours, I must confess, I cannot but highly commend and approve, and therefore wish you all good Success therein; and so committing you to God, I take Leave and rest,

Your affectionate Friend to serve you,

HENRY MORE.

POSTSCRIPT.

THIS Letter lying by me some Time, before I thought it opportune to convey it; and, in the mean while, meeting, more than once, with those that seemed to have some Opinion of Mr. *Webster's* Criticisms and Interpretations of Scripture, as if he had quitted himself so well there, that no Proof, thence, can hereafter be expected of the Being of a Witch, which is the Scope that he earnestly aims at; and I reflecting upon that Passage in my Letter, which does not stick to condemn *Webster's* whole Book, for a weak and impertinent Piece, presently thought fit (that you might not think that Censure over-rash or unjust) it being an endless Task to shew all the Weakness and Impertinencies of his Discourse, briefly, by Way of *Postscript*, to hint the Weakness and Impertinency of this Part, which is counted the Master-piece of the Work, that thereby you may perceive, that my Judgment has not been at all rash, touching the Whole.

AND, in order to this, we are first to take notice, what is the real Scope of his Book; which, if you peruse, you shall certainly find to be this: That the Parties, ordinarily deemed Witches and Wizzards, are only Knaves and Queans, to use his Phrase, and arrant Cheats, or deep Melancholists; but have no more to do with any evil Spirit or Devil, or the Devil with them, than he has with other Sinners or wicked Men, or they with the Devil. And, Secondly, we are impartially to define what is the true Notion of a Witch or Wizzard, which is necessary for the detecting of *Webster's* Impertinencies.

A s

As for the Words *Witch* and *Wizzard*, from the Notation of them, they signify no more than a wise Man, or a wise Woman. In the Word *Wizzard*, it is plain at the very first Sight. And, I think, the most plain, and least obscure, Deduction of the Name *Witch*, is from *Wit*, whose derived Adjective might be *Wittigh*, or *Wittich*, and by Contraction afterwards, *Witch*; as the Noun *Wit* is from the Verb *to weet*, which is, to know. So that a Witch, thus far, is no more than a knowing Woman; which answers exactly to the Latin Word *Saga*, according to that of *Festus*, *Sagæ dictæ anus quæ multa sciunt*. Thus, in general: But Use, questionless, had appropriated the Word to such a Kind of Skill and Knowledge, as was out of the common Road, or extraordinary. Nor did this Peculiarity imply in it any Unlawfulness. But there was after a further Restriction, and most proper of all, and in which alone; now adays, the Words *Witch* and *Wizzard* are used. And that is; for one that has the Knowledge or Skill of doing, or telling Things in an extraordinary Way, and that in Vertue of either an express or implicit Sociation or Confederacy with some Evil Spirit. This is a true and adequate Definition of a *Witch*, or *Wizzard*; which, to whomsoever it belongs, is such, & *vice versa*. But to prove, or defend, that there neither are, nor ever were any such, is, as I said, the main Scope of *Webster's* Book: In order to which; he endeavours in his sixth and eighth Chapters, to evacuate all the Testimonies of Scripture; which, how weakly and impertinently he has done, I shall now shew with all possible Brevity and Perspicuity.

The Words, that he descants upon, are *Deut. 18. 10, 11. There shall not be found among you any one that useth Divination, or an Observer of Times, or an Enchanter, or a Witch, or a Charmer, or a Consulter with familiar Spirits, or a Wizzard, or a Necromancer*. The first Word or Name, in the Hebrew, is, קסם קסמים [*Kesem Kesamim*] a *Diviner*. Here, because, קסם [*Kasam*] sometimes has an indifferent Sense, and signifies to divine by natural Knowledge or human Prudence or Sagacity; therefore, nothing of such a Witch, as is imagined to make a visible League with the Devil, or to have her Body suck'd by him, or have carnal Copulation with him, or is really turned into a Cat, Hare, Wolf, or Dog, can be deduced from this Word. A goodly Inference indeed, and hugely to the Purpose, as is

is apparent from the foregoing Definition. But though that cannot be deduced, yet, in that, this *Divination*, that is here forbidden, is plainly declared abominable and execrable, as it is v. 12. it is manifest that such a *Divination* is understood that really is so; which cannot well be conceiv'd to be, unless it imply either an express or implicit Inveiglement with some evil invifible Powers, who assist in any Kind of those Divinations that may be comprehended under this general Term. So that this is plainly one Name of Witchcraft according to the genuine Definition thereof. And the very Words of *Saul*, to the Witch of *Endor*, are, קסומי נאלי בחרב that is to say, *Divine to me I pray thee by thy familiar Spirit*. Which is more than by natural Knowledge, or human Sagacity.

THE next Word is מעונן [*Megnonen*] which, though our *English* Translation renders (from [*Gnon*] *Tempus*) an observer of Times; (which should rather be a Declarer of the Seasonableness of the Time, or Unseasonableness of the Time, or Unseasonableness, as to Success; a Thing which is enquired of also from Witches) yet the usual Sense, render'd by the Learned in the Language, is *Præstigiator*, an Imposer on the Sight, *Sapientes præsci*, says *Buxtorf*, a עין [*Gnajin, Oculus*] deduxerunt & מעונן [*Megnonen*] esse eum dixerunt, qui tenet & præstringit oculos, ut falsum pro vero videant. Lo another Word that signifies a Witch or a Wizzard! which has its Name properly from imposing on the Sight, and making the By-stander believe, he sees Forms or Transportations of Things he sees not. As when *Ann Bodenham* transform'd herself before *Ann Styles*, in the Shape of a great Cat; *Ann Styles's* Sight was so imposed upon, that the Thing to her seem'd to be done, though her Eyes were only deluded. But such a Delusion, certainly, cannot be performed without Confederacy with evil Spirits. For to think the Word signifies *Præstigiator* in that Sense we translate in *English*, *Juggler*, or an *Hocus-Pocus*, is so fond a Conceit, that no Man, of any Depth of Wit, can endure it. As if a merry Juggler that plays Tricks of Legerdemain, at a Fair, or Market, were such an Abomination, to either the God of *Israel*, or his Law-giver *Moses*; or, as if an *Hocus-Pocus* were so wise a Wight, as to be consulted as an Oracle:

For it is said, v. 14. *For the Nations which thou shalt possess, they consult* מַעֲנִינִים [Megnonenim] What, do they consult *Jugglers* and *Hocus-Pocusses*? No, certainly, they consult *Witches* or *Wizzards*, and *Diviners*, as *Ann Styles* did *Ann Bodenham*. Wherefore, here is evidently a second Name of a Witch.

THE Third Word in the Text is מְנַחֵשׁ [Menachesh] which our *English* Translation renders an *Enchanter*. And, with Mr. Webster's Leave (who insulteth so over their supposed Ignorance) I think they have translated it very learnedly and judiciously: For Charming and Enchanting, as Webster himself acknowledges, and the Words intimate, being all one, the Word מְנַחֵשׁ [Menachesh] here may very well signify Enchanters or Charmers; but such properly as kill Serpents by their charming, from נָחָשׁ [Nachash which signifies a Serpent, from whence comes נִחֵשׁ [Nicheesh] to kill Serpents, or make away with them. For a Verb in *Pikel* sometimes (especially when it is formed from a Noun) has a contrary Signification. Thus from שָׁדַשׁ *radix* is שָׁדַשׁ *radices evulsit*, from דָּשַׁן *Cinis* דָּשַׁן *removet Cineres*, from חָטָא *peccavit* חָטָא *expiavit à peccato*; and so lastly, from נָחָשׁ *Serpens*, is made נִחֵשׁ *liberavit à serpentibus, nempe occidendo vel fugando per incantationem*. And therefore there seems to have been a great deal of Skill and Depth of Judgment in our *English* Translators that rendered מְנַחֵשׁ [Menachesh] an *Enchanter*, especially when that of Augur, or Soothsayer, which the *Septuagint* call Ὀυριζόμενον (there being so many harmless Kinds of it) might seem less suitable with this black List: For there is no such Abomination in adventuring to tell, when the wild Geese fly high in great Companies, and cackle much, that hard Weather is at Hand. But to rid Serpents, by a Charm, is above the Power of Nature; and therefore an Indication of one that has the Assistance of some invisible Spirit to help him in this Exploit, as it happens in several others; and therefore this is another Name of one that is really a Witch.

THE Fourth Word is מְכַשֶּׁפֶּה [Mecasseph] which our *English* Translators render, a *Witch*; for which I have no Quarrel with them, unless they should so understand it, that it must exclude others from being so in that Sense I have defin'd,

defin'd, which is impossible they should. But this, as the foregoing, is but another Term of the same Thing; that is, of a Witch in general, but so called here from the prestigious Imposing on the Sight of Beholders: *Buxtorf* tells us, that *Aben Ezra* defines those to be מכשפיים [*Mecassephim*] qui mutant & transformant res naturales ad aspectum oculi. Not as *Jugglers* and *Hocus-Pocusses*, as *Webster* would ridiculously insinuate, but so as I understood the Thing in the second Name: For these are but several Names of a Witch, who may have several more Properties than one Name intimates. Whence it is no Wonder, that Translators render not them always alike. But so many Names are reckon'd up here in this Clause of the Law of *Moses*, that, as in our Common Law, the Sense may be more sure, and leave no Room to Evasion. And, that here this Name is not from any Tricks of Legerdemain, as in common Jugglers that delude the Sight of the People at a Market or Fair, but that it is the Name of such, as raise magical Spectres to deceive Mens Sight, and so are most certainly Witches, is plain from *Exod. xxij 18*. Thou shalt not suffer מכשפה [*Mecassephab*] that is, a Witch to live. Which would be a Law of extreme Severity, or rather Cruelty, against a poor *Hocus-Pocus* for his Tricks of Legerdemain.

THE Fifth Name is חובר חבבר [*Chobher Chebber*] which our *English* Translators render Charmer, which is the same with Enchanter. *Webster*, upon this Name, is very tedious and flat, a many Words, and small Weight in them. I shall dispatch the Meaning briefly, thus: This חובר חבבר [*Chobher Chebber*] that is to say, *Socians Societatem*, is another Name of a Witch, so called specially, either from the Consociating together Serpents by a Charm, which has made Men usually turn it (from the Example of the *Septuagint's* ἐσάδων ἐσάοιδων) a Charmer, or an Enchanter, or else from the Society or Compact of the Witch with some evil Spirits; which *Webster* acknowledges to have been the Opinion of two very learned Men, *Martin Luther* and *Perkins*; and, I will add a third, *Aben Ezra* (as *Martinus* hath noted, who gives this Reason of the Word חובר [*Chobher*] an Enchanter, which signifies *Socians* or *Fungens*, viz. *Quod malignos Spiritus sibi associat*. And, certainly,

tainly one may charm long enough, even till his Heart akes, e're he make one Serpent assemble near him, unless help'd by this Confederacy of Spirits that drive them to the Charmer. He keeps a Pudder with the fixth Verse of the fifty eighth Psalm, to no purpose ; whenas, from the *Hebrew*, חובר חברים מחכם אשר לא ישמע לקיל מלחשים, if you repeat ἀπο κεινῶν לקול before חובר, you may with Ease and Exactness render it thus : *That hears not the Voice of muttering Charmers, no, not the Voice of a confederate Wizzard or Charmer that is skilful.* But seeing Charms, unless with them that are very shallow and sillily credulous, can have no such Effects, of themselves, there is all the Reason in the World (according as the very Word intimates, and as *Aben Ezra* has declared) to ascribe the Effect to the Assistance, Confederacy and Co-operation of evil Spirits, and so חובר חברים [Chobker Chabharim] or חובר חבר [Chobker Chebker] will plainly signify a Witch or Wizzard, according to the true Definition of them. But for *J. Webster's* Rendering this Verse, p. 119. thus, *Quæ non audiet vocem mussitantium incantationes docti Incantantis*, (which, he saith, is, doubtless, the most genuine Rendering of the Place) let any skillful Man apply it to the *Hebrew* Text, and he will presently find it grammatical Nonsense. If that had been the Sense, it should have been חברי חובר מחכם.

THE Sixth Word is, שואל אוב [Shoel Obb] which our *English* Translation renders, a *Consulter with familiar Spirits* ; but the *Septuagint* ἑγγασείαυθ. Which, therefore, must needs signify him that has this familiar Spirit : And therefore שואל אוב [Shoel Obb] I conceive, (considering the rest of the Words are so to be understood) is to be understood of the Witch or Wizzard himself that asks Counsel of his Familiar, and does, by vertue of him, give Answers unto others. The Reason of the Name of אוב [Obb] 'tis likely was taken first from that Spirit that was in the Body of the Party, and swelled it to a Protuberancy, like the Side of a Bottle. But after, without any Relation to that Circumstance, OBH signifies as much as *Pytho* ; as *Pytho* also, though at first it took its Name from the *Pythii Vates*, signifies no more than *Spiritum Divinationis*, in general, a Spirit that tells hidden Things, or Things to come. And OBH and *Pytho* also agree in this, that they both signify

nify either the divinatory Spirit itself, or the Party that has that Spirit. But here in **וְנִשְׁמָה לְנִשְׁמָה** [*Skoel Obh*] it being rendered by the *Septuagint* *Ἐγγασειμῶθ*, *OBH* is necessarily understood of the Spirit itself, as *Pytho*, in *Acts* xvi. 16. if you read *πνεῦμα πύθωνα*, with *Isaac Casaubon*; but if *πύθωνθ*, it may be understood either Way. Of this *πνεῦμα πύθων*, it is recorded in that Place, That *Paul* being grieved, turned, and said to that Spirit, I command thee, in the Name of *Jesus Christ*, to come out of her, and he came out at the same Hour; which signifies as plainly as any Thing can be signified, that this *Pytho* or Spirit of Divination, that this *OBH* was in her: For nothing can come out of the Sack that was not in the Sack, as the *Spanish* Proverb has it; nor could this *Pytho* come out of her, unless it was a Spirit distinct from her; wherefore, I am amazed at the profane Impudence of *J. Webster*, that makes this *Pytho*; in the Maid there mentioned, nothing but a wicked Humour of cheating and couzening Divination: And adds, that this Spirit was no more cast out of that Maid, than the seven Devils out of *Mary Magdalen*, which he would have understood, only of her several Vices; which foolish Familistical Conceit he puts upon *Beza*, as well as *Adie*. Wherein, as he is most unjust to *Beza*, so he is most grossly impious and blasphemous against the Spirit of Christ in *St. Paul* and *St. Luke*, who makes them both such Fools, as to believe that there was a Spirit or divining Devil in the Maid, when, according to him, there is no such Thing. Can any Thing be more frantick or ridiculous than this Passage of *St. Paul*, if there was no Spirit or Devil in the Damsel? But what will this profane Shuffler stick to do in a dear Regard to his beloved Hags, of whom he is sworn Advocate and resolved Patron, right or wrong?

BUT to proceed, that **וְנִשְׁמָה** [*Obh*] signifies the Spirit itself that divines, not only him that has it, is manifest from *Levit. xx. 27. Vir autem sive mulier cum fuerit* [**וְנִשְׁמָה לְנִשְׁמָה**] *in eis Pytho*. And *1 Sam. xxviii. 8. Divina queso mihi* [**וְנִשְׁמָה**] *per Pythonem*. In the *Septuagint* it is *Ἐγγασειμῶθ*, that is, by that Spirit that sometimes goes into the Body of the Party, and thence gives Answers; but here it only signifies a Familiar Spirit. And, lastly, **וְנִשְׁמָה לְנִשְׁמָה** [*Bagnalath Obh*] *1 Sam. xxviii. 7. Quæ habet Pytho-*

nem; there *OBH* must needs signify the Spirit itself, of which she of *Endor* was the Owner or Possessor; that is to say, it was her Familiar Spirit. But see what brazen and stupid Impudence will do here, בעלה אוב [*Bagnalath Obb*] with *Webster*, must not signify one that has a Familiar Spirit, but the Mistress of the Bottle. Who, but the Master of the Bottle, or rather of whom the Bottle had become Master, and, by guzzling, had made his Wits excessively muddy and frothy, could ever stumble upon such a foolish Interpretation? But, because אוב [*Obb*] in one Place of the Scripture signifies a Bottle, it must signify so here, and it must be the Instrument forsooth, out of which this cheating Quean of *Endor* does whisper, peep, or chirp like a Chicken coming out of the Shell, p. 129. 165. And does she not, I beseech you, put her Nib also into it sometimes, as into a Reed, as it is said of that Bird, and cry like a Butterbump? certainly, he might as well have interpreted בעלה אוב [*Bagnalath Obb*] of the great Tun of *Hydelberg*, that *Tom. Coriat* takes such special Notice of, as of the Bottle.

AND truly, so far as I see, it must be some such huge Tun at length, rather than the Bottle, that is, such a spacious Tub as he in his deviceful Imagination fancies *Manasses* to have built; a μαντήριον forsooth, or Oracular Ædifice for cheating Rogues and Queans to play their couzening tricks in; from that Place 2 Chron. xxxiii. 6. יעשה אוב *Et fecit Pythonem*. Now, says he, how could *Manasses* make a Familiar Spirit? or make one that had a Familiar Spirit? Therefore he made a Bottle a Tun, or a large Tub, a μαντήριον, or Oracular Edifice for cheating Rogues or Queans to play their couzening Tricks in. Very wisely argued, and out of the very Depth of his Ignorance of the Hebrew Tongue! whenas, if he had looked into *Buxtorf's* Dictionary, he might have understood that עשה signifies not only *fecit* but also *paravit*, *comparavit*, *acquisivit*, *magnificavit*, none of which Words imply the making of *OBH* in his Sense, but only the Appointing them to be got, and Countenancing them. For in *Webster's* Sense he did not make ידעני [*Fidegnoni*] neither, that is, *Wizards*, and yet *Manasses* is said to make them both alike. יעשה אוב וידעני *Et fecit Pythonem & Magos*. So plain is it that אוב [*Obb*] signifies

signifies *Pytho*, and that adequately, in the same Sense that *Pytho* does, either a Familiar Spirit, or him that has that Spirit of Divination. But in **בעלה אוב** [*Bagnalath Obb*] it necessarily signifies the Familiar Spirit itself, which assisted the Witch of *Endor*; whereby it is manifest, she is rightly called a Witch. As for his Stories of counterfeit *Ventriloquists*, (and who knows but some of his counterfeit *Ventriloquists* may prove true ones) that is but the threadbare Sophistry of Sadducees and Atheists, to elude the Faith of all true Stories, by those that are of Counterfeits or feigned.

THE Seventh Word is **ידעוני** [*Fidegnoni*] which our *English* Translators render a *Wizzard*. And *Webster* is so kind as to allow them to have translated this Word aright, *Wizzards* then *Webster* will allow, that is to say, *He-Witches*, but not *She-Witches*. How tender the Man is of that Sex! But the Word invites him to it **ידעוני** [*Fidegnoni*] coming from **ידע** *scire*, and answering exactly to *Wizzard* or Wise-man. And does not *Witch* from *Wit* and *weet* signify as well a *Wise-woman*, as I noted above? And, as to the Sense of those Words from whence they are derived, there is no Hurt herein; and therefore, if that were all, **ידעוני** [*Fidegnoni*] had not been in this black List. Wherefore, it is here understood in that more restrict and worse Sense: So as we understand usually now-a-days *Witch* and *Wizzard*, such wise Men and Women whose Skill is from the Confederacy of evil Spirits, and therefore are real Wizzards and Witches. In what a bad Sense **ידעוני** [*Fidegnoni*] is understood, we may learn from *Levit. xx. 27*. *A man also or woman that hath a familiar Spirit, or that is a Wizzard* [*Jidegnoni*] *shall be put to death, they shall stone them with stones, &c.*

THE Last Word is **דורש המתים** [*Doresb Hammethim*] which our Translators rightly render *Necromancers*; that is, those that, either upon their own Account, or desired by others, do raise the Ghosts of the Deceased to consult with; which is a more particular Term than **בעל אוב** [*Bagnal Obb*:] But he, that is *Bagnal Obb*, may be also *Doresb Hammethim*, a *Necromancer*, as appears in the Witch of *Endor*. Here *Webster* by **המתים** [*Hammethim*] the *Dead*, would understand dead Statues; but let him, if he

can, any where, shew in all the Scripture, where the Word **הַמְתִּים** [*Hammethim*] is used of what was not once alive. He thinks he hits the Nail on the Head, in that Place of *Isaiah*, viii. 19. *And when they shall say unto you, Seek unto* (**הַמְתִּים**, that is, to **בְּעִלְתֵּי אוֹב**, such as the Witch of *Endor* was) *them that have Familiar Spirits, and to Wizzards that peep and that mutter*; (the Hebrew has it **הַמְתִּים** and **הַמְצַפְצִפִּים**; that is, speak with a querulous, murmuring, or musing Voice, when they either conjure up the Spirit, or give Responses. If this be to *peep like a Chicken*, *Isaiah* himself peep'd like a Chicken, xxxviii. 14.) *should not a People seek unto their God? for the living, [אל הַמְתִּים] to the dead?* Where *Hammethim* is so far from signifying dead Statues, that it must needs be understood of the Ghosts of dead Men, as here in *Deuteronomy*. None but one that had either stupidly, or wilfully, forgot the Story of *Samuel's* being raised by that **בְּעִלְתֵּי אוֹב** [*Bagnalath Obb*] the Witch of *Endor*, could ever have the Face to affirm, that **הַמְתִּים** [*Hammethim*] here in *Isaiah*, is to be understood of dead Statues, when Wizzards or Necromancers were so immediately mentioned before, especially not *Webster*, who acknowledges that **שׂוֹאֵל אוֹב** [*Schoel Obb*] signifies a Necromancer in this *Deuteronomical* List of abominable Names. And therefore, forsooth, would have it a Tautology, that *Doresh Hammethim* should signify so too. But I say it is no Tautology, this last Term being more express and restrict. And, besides, this Enumeration is not intended as an accurate logical Division of Witches or Witchcraft into so many distinct Kinds, but a Reciting of several Names of that ill Trade, though they will interfere one with another, and have no Significations so precisely distinct. But, as I said before, this fuller Recounting of them is made, that the Prohibition, in this Form, might be the surer Fence against the Sin. And now, therefore, what will *J. Webster* get by this, if *Doresh Hammethim* will not signify a Witch of *Endor*, when it must necessarily signify a *Necromancer*, which is as much against his Tooth as the other? Nay, indeed, this *Necromancer* is also a Witch or Wizzard, according to the Definition produced above.

THE rest of the Chapter being so inconsiderable, and I having been so long already upon it, I shall pass to the next, after I have desired you to take Notice, how weak and childish, or wild and impudent, Mr. *Webster* has been in the Interpretation of Scripture hitherto, in the Belief of his sage Dames, to fence off the Reproach of being termed Witches; whenas, there is scarce one Word in this Place of *Deuteronomy*, that does not imply a Witch or Wizzard, according to the real Definition thereof. And, truly, he seems himself to be conscious of the Weakness of his own Performance, when, after all this Ado, the Sum, at last, amounts but to this, That there are no Names in all the old Testament that signify such a Witch that destroys Men or Beasts, that makes a visible Compact with the Devil, or on whose Body he sucketh, or with whom he hath carnal Copulation, or that is really changed into a Cat, Hare, Dog, or such like. And to shew, it amounts to no more than so, was the Task we undertook in this Chapter.

BUT, assure yourself, if you peruse his Book carefully, you shall plainly find, that the main Drift thereof is to prove, as I above noted, that there is no such Witch, as with whom the Devil has any Thing more to do than with any other Sinner, which, notwithstanding, this Conclusion of his, a little before recited, comes infinitely short of; and, therefore, this sixth Chapter, consisting of about 30 Pages in Folio, is a meer Piece of Impertinency. And there will be Witches for all this, whether these Particulars be noted in them, or no; For it was sufficient for *Moses* to name those ill founding Terms in general, which imply a Witch according to that general Notion I have above delivered; which, if it be prohibited, namely, the having any Thing to do with evil Spirits, their being suck'd by them, or their having any lustful or venereous Transactions with them, is much more prohibited.

BUT, for some of these Particularities also, they may seem to be, in some Manner, hinted at in some of the Words, especially as they are render'd sometimes by skillful Interpreters: for מְכַשֵּׁף [*Mecasseph*] is translated by *Vatablus*, and the Vulgar Latin, *Maleficus*, by the Septuagint φαρμακός, that is, *Veneficus*; which Word signifies mischievously enough both to Men and Beasts. Besides that,
Mecasseph

Mecasseph carries along with it the Signification of Transformation also; and, haply, this may be the Difference betwixt מכספה [*Mecasseph*] and מעיון [*Megnonen*] that the former uses prestigious Transformations to some great Mischief, as where *Olaus Magnus* tells of those that have transformed themselves into Wolves, to Mens Thinking, and have presently fallen upon worrying of Sheep. Others transformed in their *astral Spirit*, into various Shapes, get into Houses, and do Mischief to Men and Children, as I remember *Remigius* reports. And, therefore, it is less Wonder, that that sharp Law of *Moses* is against the מכספה [*Mecassephah*] such a Witch as this is, *Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live*; this may be a more peculiar Signification of that Word. And now for making a Compact with the Devil, how naturally does that Name חובר חכר [*Chobher Chebher*] signify that Feat also? But for Sucking and Copulation, though rightly stated, it may be true; yet, I confess, there is nothing hinted towards that, so far as I see, as, indeed, it was neither necessary that the other should be. But these are the very Dregs, the *Fæx Magorum* & *Sagarum*, that sink in those Abominations, against which a sufficient Bar is put already, by this Prohibition in general by so many Names. And the other is so filthy, base and nasty, that the Mention thereof was neither fit for the sacred Style of *Moses's* Law, nor for the Ears of the People.

IN my passing to the eighth Chapter, I will only take Notice, by the Way, of the shameless Impudence of *J. Webster*, who in Favour to his beloved Hags, that they may be never thought to do any Thing by the Assistance of the Devil, makes the Victory of *Moses*, with whom the mighty Hand of God was, or of Christ, (who was the Angel that appeared first to *Moses* in the Bush, and conducted the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt* to the promised Land) to be the Victory only over so many *Hocus-pocusses*, so many Jugglers that were, as it seems, old and excellent at the Tricks of *Legerdemain*; which is the basest Derogation to the Glory of that Victory, and the vilest Reproach against the God, of *Israel*, and the Person of *Moses*, that either the malicious Wit of any Devil can invent, or the Dulness of any sunk Soul can stumble upon. Assuredly, there was a real Conflict here betwixt the Kingdom of Light and the Kingdom of
Darkness

Darkness and the evil Spirits thereof, which assisted the הַרְטֻמִּים [*Hartummim*] the Magicians of *Egypt*; who, before that Name is named, that no Man may mistake, are called מְכַשְּׁפִים [*Mecassaphim*] such Kind of Magicians as can exhibit to the Sight manifold prestigious Transformations, through diabolical Assistance, and are rendered *Maleficia* by good Interpreters, as I noted above; that is, they were *Wizzards* or He-witches. The self same Word being used in that severe Law of *Moses*, *Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live*. Are not these Magicians then Examples plain enough, that there are Witches; that is to say, such wretched Wights, as do strange and miraculous Things by the Assistance or Consociation of the evil Spirits?

O NO, says Mr. *Webster*, these are only חַכְמַיִם [*Chacamim*] *Wise-men* and great *Naturalists*, who, all what they did, they did בְּלַהֲטֵיהֶם, by their bright glittering *Lamine*, for so לַהֲטֹט, forsooth, must signify. But what Necessity thereof, that לַהֲטֹט should signify *Lamina*? There is only the Preference of that one Place, *Gen.* iii. 24. לַהֲטֹט הָרֶב, where it is הָרֶב only that signifies the *Lamina*, and that of a long Form, scarce usual in those magical *Lamine* with Signatures celestial upon them, which *J. Webster* would be at; but לַהֲטֹט signifies merely *Flamma*; so that בְּלַהֲטֵיהֶם by this Account must signify by their Flames, if it be from לַהֲטֹט *ardere, flammare*: And, therefore, *Buxtorfius* judiciously places the Word under לֹט *abscondit, obvolvitur*, reading not בְּלַהֲטֵיהֶם but בְּלֹטֵיהֶם, which is as much as to say, *occultis suis rationibus Magicis*, which is briefly rendered in *English*, by their *Enchantments*; which agrees marvelously well with מְכַשְּׁפִים [*Mecassephim*] which is as much as *Præstigiatores Magici*, or such as do strange wonderful Things in an hidden Way, by the Help of evil Spirits. But that the *Egyptian* Magicians should do those Things that are there recorded of them in *Exodus*, by Vertue of any Lamels or Plates of Metals, with certain Sculptures or Figures under such or such a Constellation, is a Thing so sottish and foolish, that no Man, that is not himself bewitched by some old Hag or Hobgoblin, can ever take Sanctuary here to save himself, or his old Dames, from being in a Capacity, from this History in *Exodus*, of
being

being accounted Witches. For if there may be *He-witches*, that is, *Magicians*, such as these of *Egypt* were, I leave *J. Webster* to scratch his Head, to find out any Reason, why there may not be *She-witches* also.

AND, indeed, that of the Witch of *Endor*, to pass, at length, to the eighth Chapter, is as plain a Proof thereof, as can be desired by any Man whose Mind is not blinded with Prejudices. But here *J. Webster*, not impertinently, I confess, for the general, (abating him the many tedious particular Impertinencies that he has clogg'd his Discourse with) betakes himself to these two Ways, to shew there was nothing of a Witch in all that whole Narration. First, by pretending that all the Transaction; on the Woman of *Endor's* Part, was nothing but Collusion and a Cheat, *Saul* not being in the same Room with her, or, at least, seeing nothing, if he was. And then, in the next Place, that *Samuel*, that is said to appear, could neither be *Samuel* appearing in his Body out of the Grave, nor in his Soul; nor that it was a Devil that appeared; and, therefore, it must be some colluding Knave, suborned by the Witch. For the discovering the Weakness of his former Allegation, we need but to appeal to the Text, which is this, 1 Sam. xxviii. v. 8.

AND *Saul* said, *I pray thee, divine unto me by the familiar Spirit, and bring me up whom I shall name unto thee*, קְטוֹמוֹ נְאֻם לִי; that is, do the Office of a Diviners, or a Wise-woman, I pray thee, unto me, בְּאוֹב [*Beobb*] by vertue of the *familiar Spirit*, whose Assistance thou hast, not by vertue of the *Bottle*, as Mr. *Webster* would have it. Does he think that *Damsel* in the *Acts*, which is said to have had πνεῦμα πύδων & that is, to have had אוֹב [*Obb*] carried an *Aqua-vitæ-Bottle* about with her, hung at her Girdle, whereby she might divine and mutter, chirp, or peep out of it, as *Chicken* out of an *Egg-shell*, or put her Neb into it to cry like a *Bittern*, or take a Dram of the Bottle, to make her Wits more quick and divinatory. Who, but one who had taken too many Drams of the Bottle, could ever fall into such a fond Conceit? Wherefore, אוֹב [*Obb*] in this Place does not, as, indeed, no where else, signify an oracular Bottle or μαντήριον, into which *Saul* might desire the Woman of *Endor* to retire into, and himself expect Answers

swers in the next Room; but signifies that *familiar Spirit*, by vertue of whose Assistance she was conceived to perform all those wond'rous Offices of a Wife-woman. But we proceed to Verse 11.

THEN said the Woman, *Whom shall I bring up unto thee? And he said, Bring me up Samuel.* Surely as yet, *Saul* and the Woman are in the same Room, being the Woman ask'd, *Whom shall I bring up unto thee?* and he answering, *Bring up unto me Samuel*, it implies, that *Samuel* was so brought up, that *Saul* might see him, and not the Witch only. But we go on, Verse 12.

AND when the Woman saw *Samuel*, she cryed with a loud Voice; and the Woman spake to *Saul*, saying, *Why hast thou deceived me, for thou art Saul?* Tho' the Woman might have some Suspicions before, that it was *Saul*, yet she now seeing *Samuel* did appear, and in another Kind of Way than her Spirits used to do, and in another Hue, as it is most likely so holy a Soul did, she presently cryed out with a loud Voice, (*not muttered, chirp'd, and peep'd, as a Chicken coming out of the Shell*) that now she was sure it was *Saul*, for she was not such a Fool, as to think her Art could call up real *Samuel*, but that the Presence of *Saul* was the Cause thereof: and *Josephus* writes expressly, *Ὁπ δειασάμενον τὸ γυναικὸν ἄνδρα σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπῆ παρόντα, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐκπλαγὲν ἔσθ', φησὶν, ὁ Βασιλεὺς Σάουλ;* i. e. *The Woman, seeing a grave god-like Man, is startled at it, and thus astonished at the Vision, turned herself to the King, and said, Art not thou King Saul?* Verse 13.

AND the King said unto her, *Be not afraid; for what sawest thou?* And the Woman said unto *Saul*, *I saw Gods ascending out of the Earth.* The King here assures the Woman, that, tho' he was *Saul*, yet no Hurt should come to her, and, therefore, bids her not be afraid. But she turning her Face to *Saul*, as she spake to him, and he to her, and so her Sight being off from the Object, *Saul* asked her, *What sawest thou?* and she in like Manner answer'd, *I saw Gods &c.* For Gods I suppose, any free Translator in Greek, Latin, and English, would say, *δαίμονας* Genios, Spirits. And *אֱלֹהִים* signifies Angels as well as Gods; and it is likely these Wife-woman take the Spirits they converse with to be good Angels, as *Ann Bodenham*, the Witch,

Witch told a worthy and learned Friend of mine, That these Spirits, such as she had, were good Spirits, and would do a Man all good Offices, all the Days of his Life; and 'tis likely this Woman of *Endor* had the same Opinion of hers, and, therefore, we need not wonder that she calls them אֱלֹהִים [*Elohim*] especially *Samuel* appearing among them, to say nothing of the Presence of *Saul*. And, that more than one Spirit appears at a Time, there are repeated Examples in *Ann Bodenham's* Magical Evocations of them, whose History, I must confess, I take to be very true.

THE Case stands therefore thus: The Woman and *Saul* being in the same Room, she, turning her Face from *Saul*, mutters to herself some magical Form of Evocation of Spirits; whereupon, they beginning to appear and rise up, seemingly out of the Earth, upon the Sight of *Samuel's* Countenance, she cryed out to *Saul*, and, turning her Face towards him, spoke to him. Now, that *Saul* hitherto saw nothing, tho' in the same Room, might be either, because the Body of the Woman was interposed betwixt his Eyes and them, or the Vehicles of those Spirits were not yet attuned to the Conspiration, that they would strike the Eyes of *Saul*, tho' they did of the Witch. And that some may see an Object, others not seeing, you have an Instance in the Child upon *Walker's* Shoulders, appearing to Mr. *Fairhair*, and it may be to the Judge, but invisible to the rest of the Court; and many such Examples there are. But I proceed to Verse 14.

And he said unto her, *What form is he of? and she said, An old Man cometh up, and is covered with a Mantle.* He asks here in the singular Number, because his Mind was only fix'd on *Samuel*. And the Woman's Answer is exactly according to what the Spirit appeared to her, when her Eye was upon it, viz. אִישׁ זָקֵן עָלָה *An old Man coming up*; for he was but coming up, when she looked upon him, and accordingly describes him: For עָלָה there is a Particle of the present Tense, and the Woman describes *Samuel* from his Age, Habit, and Motion he was in, while her Eye was upon him. So that the genuine and grammatical Sense, in this Answer to *What form he is of?* is this, *An old Man coming up, and the same covered with a Mantle,*

a Mantle, this is his Form and Condition I saw him in. Wherefore, *Saul* being so much concerned herein, either the Woman or he changing their Postures or Standings, or *Samuel* by this having sufficiently conspissated his Vehicle, and fitted it to *Saul's* Sight also, it follows in the Text. *And Saul perceived it was Samuel, and he stooped with his Face to the Ground and bowed himself.*

O T H E impudent Profaneness and Sottishness of perverse Shufflers and Whifflers! that, upon the hearing of this Passage, can have the Face to deny, that *Saul* saw any Thing, and meerly, because the Word [*perceived*] is used, and not [*saw*] when the Word [*perceived*] plainly implies that he saw *Samuel*, and something more, namely, that, by his former familiar Converse with him, he was assured it was he. So exquisitely did he appear, and over-comingly to his Senses, that he could not but acknowledge (for so the *Hebrew* Word וַיִּרְאֵהוּ signifies) that it was he, or else, why did he stoop with his Face to the Ground to do him Honour?

N o, no, says *J. Webster*, he saw nothing himself, but stood waiting like a drowned Puppet (see of what a base rude Spirit this 'Squire of Hags is, to use such Language of a Prince in his Distress) in another Room, to hear what would be the Issue; for all, that he understood, was from her cunning and lying Relations. That this Gallant of Witches should dare to abuse a Prince thus, and feign him as much foolisher and sottisher in his Intellectuals, as he was taller in Stature than the rest of the People, even by Head and Shoulders, and, meerly forsooth, to secure his old Wives from being so much as in a Capacity of ever being suspected for Witches, is a Thing extremely coarse and intolerably fordid. And, indeed, upon the Consideration of *Saul's* being said to bow himself to *Samuel* (which plainly implies, that there was there a *Samuel* that was the Object of his Sight, and of the Reverence he made) his own Heart misgives him in this mad Adventure, and he shifts off from thence to a Conceit, that it was a confederate Knave, that the Woman of *Endor* turned out into the Room where *Saul* was, to act the Part of *Samuel*, having first put on him her own short Cloak, which she used with her Maund under her Arm, to ride to Fairs or Markets in. To this Country Slouch in the Woman's Mantle must King
Saul,

Saul, stooping with his Face to the very Ground, make his profound Obeysance. What, was a Market-Woman's Cloak, and *Samuel's* Mantle, which *Josephus* calls διπλοῖδα ἱεργικῶν, a sacerdotal Habit, so like one another? Or, if not, how came this Woman, being so surpriz'd of a sudden, to provide herself of such a sacerdotal Habit to cloak her confederate Knave in? Was *Saul* as well a blind, as a drowned Puppy, that he could not discern so gross and bold an Impostor, as this? Was it possible that he should not perceive, that it was not *Samuel*, when they came to confer together, as they did? How could that confederate Knave change his own Face into the same Figure, Look, and Mien that *Samuel* had, which was exactly known to *Saul*? How could he imitate his Voice thus, of a sudden, and they discoursed a very considerable Time together?

BESIDES, Knaves do not use to speak what Things are true, but what Things are pleasing. And, moreover, this Woman of *Endor*, though a Pythoness, yet she was of a very good Nature and benign, which *Josephus* takes Notice of, and extols her mightily for it, and, therefore, she could take no Delight, to lay further Weight on the oppressed Spirit of distress'd King *Saul*; which is another Sign, that this Scene was acted *bonâ fide*, and that there was no Couzening in it. As also, that it is another, that she spoke to so magnificently of what appeared to her, that she saw *Gods* ascending. Could she then, possibly, adventure to turn out a Country Slouch, with a Maund-woman's Cloak, to act the Part of so God-like and Divine a Personage, as *Samuel*, who was Θεῶν τῶν μεγάλων ὁμιλοῦσα, as the Woman describes him in *Josephus*, Antiq. Judaic. lib. vii. c. 15. unto all which you may add, That the Scripture itself, which was written by Inspiration, says expressly, v. 20. that it was *Samuel*. And the Son of *Sirack*, chap. 46. that *Samuel* himself prophesied after his Death, referring to this Story of the Woman of *Endor*. But, for our new inspired Seers, or Saints, S. *Scot*, S. *Adie*, and, if you will, S. *Webster*, sworn Advocates of the Witches, who thus madly and boldly, against all Sense and Reason, against all Antiquity, all Interpreters, and against the inspired Scripture itself, will have no *Samuel* in this Scene, but a cunning confede-

ate

rate Knave, whether the inspired Scripture, or these *in-blown* Buffoons, puffed up with nothing but Ignorance, Vanity, and stupid Infidelity, are to be believed, let any one judge.

WE come now to his other Allegation, wherein we shall be brief, we having exceeded the Measure of a Postscript already. *It was neither Samuel's Soul, says he, joined with his Body, nor his Soul out of his Body, nor the Devil ; and, therefore, it must be some confederate Knave suborned by that cunning, cheating Queen of Endor.* But I briefly answer, It was the Soul of *Samuel* himself ; and that it is the Fruitfulness of the great Ignorance of *J. Webster*, in the sound Principles of Theophosy and true Divinity, that has enabled him to heap together no less than Ten Arguments to disprove this Assertion, and all little to the Purpose : So little, indeed, that I think it little to the Purpose, particularly to answer them, but shall hint only some few Truths which will rout the whole Band of them.

I SAY, therefore, that departed Souls, as other Spirits, have an *αὐτεξέστικτον* in them, such as Souls have in this Life ; and have both a Faculty and a Right to move, of themselves, provided there be no express Law against such or such a Design, to which their Motion tends.

AGAIN, That they have a Power of appearing in their own personal Shapes, to whom there is Occasion, as *Ann Walker's* Soul did to the Miller ; and that this being a Faculty of theirs, either natural or acquirable, the Doing so is no Miracle. And,

THIRDLY, That it was the strong piercing Desire, and deep Distress and Agony of Mind in *Saul*, in his perplexed Circumstances, and the great Compassion and Goodness of Spirit in the holy Soul of *Samuel*, that was the effectual Magick, that drew him to condescend to converse with *Saul* in the Woman's House at *Endor* ; as a keen Sense of Justice and Revenge made *Ann Walker's* Soul appear to the Miller, with her five Wounds in her Head.

THE rigid and harsh Severity that *Webster* fancies *Samuel's* Ghost would have used against the Woman, or sharp Reproofs to *Saul* ; as for the latter, it is somewhat express'd in the Text, and *Saul* had his Excuse in readiness, and the good Soul of *Samuel* was sensible of his perplexed
b Condition.

Condition. And, as for the former, sith the Soul of *Samuel* might, indeed, have terrified the poor Woman, and so unhinging her, that she had been fit for nothing after it, but not converted her, it is no Wonder, if he passed her by ; Goodness and Forbearance more befitting an holy Angelical Soul than Bluster and Fury, such as is fancied by that rude Goblin that actuates the Body and Pen of *Webster*.

As for departed Souls, that they never have any Care or Regard to any of their fellow Souls here upon Earth, is expressly against the known Example of that great Soul, and universal Pastor of all good Souls, who appeared to *Stephen* at his Stoning, and to *St. Paul* before his Conversion, though then in his glorified Body ; which is a greater Condescension, than this of the Soul of *Samuel*, which was also to a Prince, upon whose Shoulders lay the great Affairs of the People of *Israel*: To omit that other notable Example of the Angel *Raphael*, so called (from his Office at that Time, or from the Angelical Order he was adopted into after his Death) but was, indeed, the Soul of *Azarias*, the Son of *Ananias* the Great, and of *Tobit's* Brethren, *Tobit* v. 12. Nor does that which occurs, *Tobit* xii. 15. at all clash with what we have said, if rightly understood : for his saying, *I am Raphael, one of the seven holy Angels which present the Prayers of the Saints, and which go in and out before the Glory of the holy One*, in the cabbalistical Sense, signifies no more than thus, That he was one of the universal Society of the holy Angels, (and a *Raphael*, in the Order of the *Raphaels*) which minister to the Saints, and re-inforce the Prayers of good and holy Men, by joining thereto their own ; and, as they are moved by God, minister to their Necessities, unprayed to themselves, which would be an Abomination to them, but extreme prone to second the Petitions of holy sincere Souls, and forward to engage in the Accomplishing of them, as a truly good Man would sooner relieve an indigent Creature, over-hearing him making his Moan to God in Prayer, than if he begged Alms of himself, though he might do that without Sin. This cabbalistical Account, I think, is infinitely more probable, than that *Raphael* told a downright Lye to *Tobit*, in saying he was the Son of *Ananias*, when he was not. And, be it so, will *J. Webster* say, What is all this to the Purpose, when

when the Book of *Tobit* is Apocryphal, and consequently of no Authority? What, of no Authority? Certainly of infinitely more Authority than Mr. *Wagstaffe*, Mr. *Scot*, and Mr. *Adie*, that Mr. *Webster* so frequently and reverently quoteth.

BUT, will he farther add, these Apparitions were made to good and holy Men, or to *elect Vessels*; but King *Saul* was a *wretched Reprobate*. This is the third liberal Badge of Honour, that this ill-bred Advocate of the Witches has bestowed on a distressed Prince. First, a *drowned Puppet*, p. 170. then a *distracted Bedlam*, in the same Page, which I passed by before; and now, a *wretched Reprobate*. But, assuredly, *Saul* was a brave Prince, and Commander, as *Josephus* justly describes him, and reprobate only in Type, as *Ismael* and *Esau*; which is a Mystery, it seems, that *J. Webster* was not aware of. And, therefore, no such Wonder that the Soul of *Samuel* had such a Kindness for him, as to appear to him in the Depth of his Distress, to settle his Mind, by telling him plainly the Upshot of the whole Business, that he should lose the Battle, and he and his Sons be slain, that so he might give a Specimen of the bravest Valour that ever was atchieved by any Commander, in that he would not suffer his Country to be over-run by the Enemy, while he was alive, without Resistance; but, though he knew certainly, he should fail of Success, and he and his Sons die in the Fight, yet in so just and honourable a Cause, as the Defence of his Crown and his Country, would give the Enemy Battle in the Field, and sacrifice his own Life for the Safety of his People. Out of the Knowledge of which noble Spirit in *Saul*, and his resolved Valour in this Point, those Words, haply, may come from *Samuel*, *To Morrow shalt thou and thy Sons be with me*, (as an auspicious Insinuation of their favourable Reception into the other World) in *מִן הַמָּוֶת* in *thalamo justorum*, as *Munster* has noted out of the *Rabbins*.

LASTLY, as for that weak Imputation, that this Opinion of its being *Samuel's* Soul, that appeared, is Popish, that is, very Plebeianly and Idiotically spoken, as if every Thing, that the Popish Party are for, were Popish. We divide our Zeal against so many Things that we fancy Popish, that we scarce reserve a just Share of Detestation against

what is truly so: Such as are, that gross, rank and scandalous Impossibility of *Transubstantiation*, the various Modes of fulsom Idolatry and lying Impostures, the Uncertainty of their Loyalty to their lawful Sovereigns, by their superstitious Adhesion to the spiritual Tyranny of the Pope, and that barbarous and ferine Cruelty against those that are not either such Fools as to be persuaded to believe such Things as they would obtrude upon Men, or are not so false to God and their own Consciences, as knowing better, yet, to profess them.

As for that other Opinion, that the greater Part of the reformed Divines hold, That it was the Devil that appeared in *Samuel's* Shape; and tho' *Grotius* also seems to be inclined thereto, alledging that Passage of *Porphyrius*, *de Abstinencia Animalium*, where he describes one Kind of Spirit to be, Γένος ἀπατηλῆς φύσεως, παντομορφόντε καὶ πολύτερον, ὑποκρινόμενον καὶ θεὸς καὶ δαίμονας καὶ ψυχὰς τεθνηκότων (which is, I confess, very apposite to this Story; nor do I doubt but that, in many of these Necromantick Apparitions, they are ludicrous Spirits, not the Souls of the Deceased that appear) yet I am clear for the Appearing of the Soul of *Samuel* in this Story, from the Reasons above alledged; and as clear, that, in other Necromancies, it may be the Devil, or such Kind of Spirits, as *Porphyrius* above describes, *that change themselves into omnifarious Forms and Shapes, and one while act the Parts of Dæmons, another while of Angels or Gods, and another while of the Souls of the Deceased*: And, I confess, such a Spirit, as this, might personate *Samuel* here, for any Thing *Webster* has alledged to the contrary; for his Arguments, indeed, are wonderfully weak and wooden, as may be understood out of what I have hinted concerning the former Opinion, but I cannot farther particularize now.

FOR I have made my *Postscript* much longer than my Letter, before I was aware; and I need not enlarge to you, who are so well versed in these Things already, and can, by the Quickness of your Parts, presently collect the whole Measures of *Hercules* by his Foot, and sufficiently understand by this Time, it is no rash Censure of mine in my Letter, That *Webster's* Book is but a weak impertinent Piece of Work, the very Master-piece thereof being so weak and

and impertinent, and falling so short of the Scope he aims at, which was really to prove, that there was no such Thing as a Witch or Wizzard, that is, not any Mention thereof in Scripture, by any Name of one that had to do with the Devil, or the Devil with him, than with other wicked Men; that is to say, of one, who, in vertue of a Covenant, either implicit or explicit, did strange Things, by the Help of evil Spirits, but that there are many Sorts of Deceivers and Impostures, and divers Persons, under a passive Delusion of Melancholy and Fancy, which is Part of his very Title-page.

WHEREBY he does plainly insinuate, that there is nothing but Couzenage or Melancholy in the whole Business of the Feats of Witches; but, a little to mitigate or smother the Grossness of this false Assertion, he adds, *And that there is no corporeal League betwixt the Devil and the Witch; and that he does not suck on the Witch's Body, nor has carnal Copulation with her, nor the Witches turned into Dogs, or Cats, &c.* All which Things, as you may see in his Book, he understands in the grossest Sense imaginable, as if the Imps of Witches had Mouths of Flesh to suck them, and Bodies of Flesh to lie with them; and at this Rate he may understand a corporeal League, as if it were no League or Covenant, unless some Lawyer drew the Instrument, and engrossed it in Vellum or thick Parchment, and there were so many Witnesses with the Hand and Seal of the Party: Nor any Transformation into Dogs, or Cats, unless it were real and corporeal, or grossly carnal; which none of his Witch-mongers, as he rudely and slovenly calls that learned and serious Person, Dr. Casaubon and the rest, do believe. Only it is a disputable Case of their bodily Transformation, betwixt Bodinus and Remigius; of which more in my *Scholia*. But, that, without this carnal Transmutation, a Woman might not be accounted a Witch, is so foolish a Supposition, that Webster himself certainly must be ashamed of it.

WHEREFORE, if his Book be writ only to prove there is no such Thing as a Witch, that covenants in Parchment with the Devil, by the Advice of a Lawyer, and is really and carnally turned into a Dog, Cat, or Hare, &c. and, with carnal Lips, sucked by the Devil, and is one with whom

whom the Devil lies carnally; the Scope thereof is manifestly impertinent, when, neither Dr. *Cajaubon*, nor any one else holds any such Thing. But, as for the true and adequate Notion of a Witch, or Wizzard, such as at first I described, his Arguments, all of them, are too weak and impertinent, as to the Disproving the Existence of such a Witch as this, who, betwixt his Deceivers, Impostors and Melancholists on one Hand, and those gross Witches he describes on the other Hand, goes away there as a Hare in a green Balk, betwixt two Lands of Corn, none of his Arguments reaching her, or getting the Sight of her, himself in the mean time standing on one Side amongst the Deceivers and Impostors, his Book, as to the main Design he drives at, being a meer Cheat and Impostor.

Corpus-Christi College, Oxon,

May 25. 1678.

N. B. *The foregoing Letter of Dr. More, &c. being left amongst other Papers, appertaining to this new intended Edition, by Mr. Glanvill, and I perceiving in a Letter of his to the Doctor, that he had a Mind this Letter should be published, together with his Book, it is done accordingly, and prefixed at the Beginning thereof, as natural Method requires, the Letter being Hortatory to quicken Mr. Glanvill to dispatch his intended new Edition, for the undeceiving of the World, and the Postscript containing many Things of a general Influence upon the whole Book. But, that the Doctor may suffer no Prejudice thro' this Publishing of his Letter and Postscript, from the Sharpness and Satiricalness of them in some Places, I shall, for the more rightly understanding his Meaning in the using that Mode of Writing upon this Occasion, transcribe a Passage of a Letter of his to his Friend Mr. Glanvill relating thereto. I pray you send me Word, whether that Postscript will not meet with all the elusory Cavils of that profane Buffoon, upon those Places of Holy Scripture; his unworthy Usage of the Holy Writ, and his derisorous Interpretations of it, in the behalf of his beloved Hags, provoked my Indignation to such Schemes of deriding and exposing him, as otherwise I should never have condescended to. This is a sufficient*
Testimony

Testimony of the Doctor's Averseness from such Manner of Writing. But as Divines tell us, that Anger and Punishment are God's Opus alienum, his strange Work, as being more abhorrent from his Nature; but yet, for the Good of the Universe, he steps out sometimes into that Dispensation; so I think it not mis-becoming good Men, sometimes to condescend, (as the Doctor calls it) to the chastising profane Drolls and Abusers of Holy Things, by a just Derision and Satirical Reprehension, for their freakish and impious Sauciness, provided it be done sincerely, and for the publick Good.



SOME

Sadducismus Triumphatus:

Or, A full and plain

EVIDENCE,

Concerning

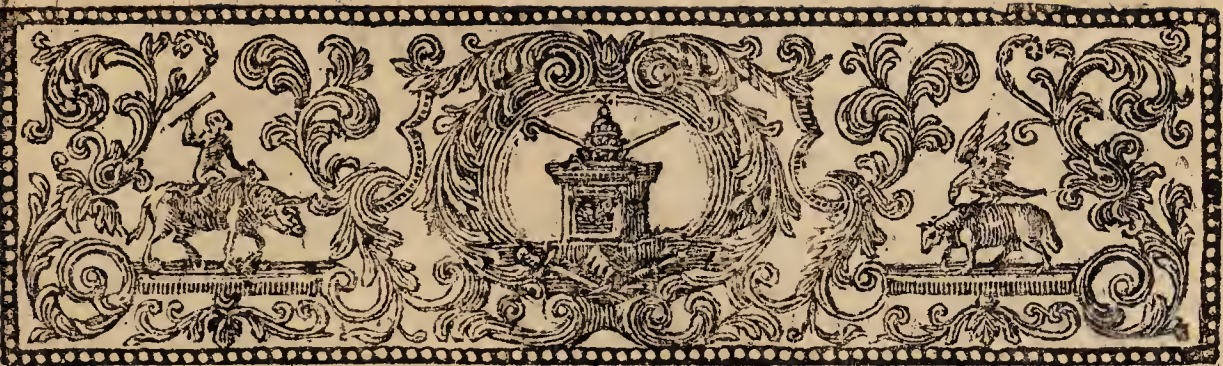
Witches and Apparitions.

The first Part thereof, containing Philosophical Considerations, which defend their Possibility.

Whereunto is added,

The true and genuine NOTION, and consistent EXPLANATION of the Nature of a SPIRIT, for the more full Confirmation of the Possibility of their Existence.

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To the Illustrious

CHARLES

Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*.

My LORD,

YOUR Grace, having been pleased to command the *first*, and more imperfect Edition of this Discourse, I have presumed that your Candour will accept the Draught that hath had my last Hand upon it. And though I am not fond enough to fancy any *Art*, or *Ornament*, in the Composure to recommend it; yet, I know, the *Essay* is seasonable, and contains Things which relate to our *biggest* Interests; the Design being to secure some of the *Out-works* of Religion, and to regain a Parcel of Ground, which *bold* Infidelity hath *invaded*. And, my Lord, I cannot but observe *sadly*, that while the *Seets* are venting their *Animosities* against each other, and scrambling for their *Conceits*, and the *particular* Advantages of their Way, they perceive not that *Atheism* comes on by large Strides, and enters the *Breaches* they have made. Sober and considerate Men see the *formidable Danger*, and some of them have strenuously endeavour'd to maintain the Walls,

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The Epistle Dedicatory.

while the Factions within are so busy, and so *divided*, that they cannot attend the *desperate* Hazard, and will not join in a common Defence. Among those generous *Defendants*, I desire to *pitch*, and have undertaken to make good one of the *Ports*, upon which the Enemy hath made *impetuous* Assaults, and, I hope, with no contemptible Success.

FOR my Part, my Lord, I am very little concerned for the small *Pedlaries*, that some Mens *Fondness* calls *Religion*, by which that sacred Thing hath been exposed to a great deal of *Contempt* and *Dis honour*. But yet I think it my Duty to have a Zeal for those great and certain Matters, upon which our Hopes in *another World* are grounded. And that our Expectations of a *future Being* are not *imaginary* and *fantastick*, we have reasonable Evidence enough from the *Attributes* of God, the *Phænomena* of *Providence*, and the *Nature* of our *Souls*, to convince *any*, but those who will *stupidly* believe that they shall die like *Beasts*, that they may *live like them*. I confess the *Philosophick Arguments* that are produced for the *desirable* Article, though very *cogent*, are many of them *speculative* and *deep*, requiring so great an *Attention* and *Sagacity*, that they take no hold upon the *whistling* Spirits, that are not used to *consider*; nor upon the *common* Sort, that cannot reach such *Heights* of *Argument*: But they are *both* best convinced by the *Proofs* that come nearest the *Sense*, which indeed strike our Minds *fullest*, and leave the most *lasting Impressions*; whereas high *Speculations*, being more *thin* and *subtile*, easily *slide off*, even from *Understandings* that are most capable to receive them. For this Reason, among some others, I appear thus much concerned, for the *Justification* of the Belief of *Witches*, it suggesting *palpable* and current Evidence of our *Immortality*, which I am exceedingly *sollicitous* to have made good.

FOR

The Epistle Dedicatory.

FOR really, my Lord, if we make our Compute like *Men*, and do not suffer our selves to be abused by the *Flatteries of Sense*, and the *deceitful Gaieties* that steal us away from *God*, and from our *Selves*, there is nothing can render the Thoughts of this *odd Life* tolerable, but the Expectation of another. And wise Men have said, that they would not live a *Moment*, if they thought they were not to *live again*. This, perhaps, some may take to be the discontented *Paradox* of a *melancholick, vex'd*, and of *mean Condition*, that is *pinch'd* by the Straitness of *Fortune*, and envies the *Heights* of others *Felicity* and *Grandeurs*; but, by that Time, those, that judge so, have spent the *Heats* of *frollick Youth*, and have past over the several *Stages of Vanity*; when they come to sit down, add make sober Reflections upon their *Pleasures* and *Pursuits*, and sum up the Account of all that is with them, and before them; I doubt not but their *considering* Thoughts will make *Solomon's Conclusion*, and find that 'tis but a *Misery* to *live*, if we were to *live for nothing else*. So that if the *Content* of the *present Life* were all I were to have, for the *Hopes* of *Immortality*, I should, even upon *that Account*, be very unwilling to believe that I was *mortal*: For certainly the *Pleasures* that result from the Thoughts of *another World*, in those that not only see it *painted* in their *Imaginations*, but *feel* it begun in their *Souls*, are as far beyond all the *Titillations* of *Sense*, as a *real lasting Happiness* is beyond the *delusive Images* of a *Dream*. And therefore they that think to secure the Enjoyment of their *Pleasures*, by the *Infamy* of our *Natures*, in the Overthrow of our future *Hopes*, endeavouring to dam up the *Fountain* of the *fullest* and *cleanest Delights*; and seek for *limpid Waters* in the *Sinks* and *Puddles* of the *Streets*.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

You see, my Lord, how my Zeal, for this mighty Interest, transports me to a greater Length in this Address, than perhaps may consist with *strict Decorum*; and I indulge my Pen the rather, in this *Licence*, because, possibly, your Grace's Name may draw some Eyes hither, that have *Need* of such *Suggestions*, and those that have not *Need*, a great deal more. It cannot be proper to add here those large Accounts, which would be requisite in a Design of full Conviction: But, for the present, if they shall please to look forward, they may likely meet *some* Things, not unfit for their serious Thoughts; and I intend to take a Season, to present them *others*, more particularly suitable to what, I *know*, is as much their *Interest*, as I doubt it is their *Want*.

BUT, my Lord, I fear, I am *importunate*, and beseech your Grace, to pardon the Boldness of,

My L O R D,

BATH, June
8, 1668.

Your Grace's

Most obedient Servant,

JOS. GLANVILL.





T H E

P R E F A C E.

T H E R E are a Sort of narrow and confin'd Spirits, who account all Discourses needless, that are not for their particular Purposes; and judge all the World to be of the Size and Genius of those within the Circle of their Knowledge and Acquaintance; so that with a pert and pragmatick Insolence, they censure all the braver Designs and Notices that lie beyond their Ken, as nice and impertinent Speculations; An ignorant and proud Injustice; as if this Sort were the only Persons, whose Humour and Needs should be consulted. And hence it comes to pass, that the greatest and worthiest Things, that are written, or said, do always meet with the most general Neglect and Scorn; since the lesser People, for whom they were not intended, are quick to shoot their Bolt, and to condemn what they do not understand, and because they do not. Whereas, on the other Side, those that are able to judge, and would encourage, are commonly reserv'd and modest in their Sentences; or if they should seek to do Right to Things that are worthy, they are sure to be out-voiced by the Rout of ignorant Contemners. Upon which Accounts, I have often thought, that he, that courts and values popular Estimation, takes not the right Way, if he endeavour any Thing that is really excellent; but he must study the little Plausibilities, and accommodate the Humour of the MANY, who are active Ministers of Fame, being zealous and loud in their Applauses, as they are clamorous and impetuous in their Oppositions. As for these, 'tis one of my chief Cares, to make myself as much unconcern'd at their Censures, as I am at the Cackling of a Flock of Geese, or at the eager Displeasure of those little snarling Animals, that are angry, when I go along the Streets. Nor can any Man be either wise, or happy, till he hath arriv'd to that Greatness of Mind, that no more considers the Tatling of the Multitude, than the Whistling of the Wind. Not that I think the common People are to be condemned for the

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Weakness of their Understandings ; 'tis an insolent Meanness of Spirit that doth that ; but when conceited Ignorance sits down in the Judgment Seat, and gives peremptory Verdicts upon Things beyond its Line, the wise Man smiles and passeth by. For such (if that may signify any thing, to keep them from troubling themselves about the following CONSIDERATIONS) I desire they would take Notice from me, that I writ not those Things for such as they ; and they will do well to throw up the Book, upon this Advertisement, except they will stay to hear, That though Philosophical Discourses, to justify the common Belief about Witches, are nothing at all to them, or those of their Measure ; yet they are too seasonable and necessary for our Age, in which Atheism is begun in Sadducism : And those that dare not bluntly say, There is no God, content themselves (for a fair Step and Introduction) to deny there are SPIRITS or WITCHES. Which Sort of Infidels, though they are not ordinary among the meer Vulgar, yet are they numerous in a little higher Rank of Understandings. And those, that know any Thing of the World, know that most of the looser Gentry, and the small Pretenders to Philosophy and Wit, are generally Deriders of the Belief of Witches and Apparitions. And were this a slight and meer Speculative Mistake, I should not trouble myself, or them, about it. But I fear this Error hath a Core in it, that is worse than Heresy : And therefore, how little soever I care what Men believe, or teach, in Matters of Opinion, I think I have Reason to be concern'd in an Affair, that toucheth so near upon the greatest Interests of Religion. And really I am astonish'd sometimes, to think into what Kind of an Age we are fallen ; in which some of the greatest Impieties are accounted but Bugs, and terrible Names, invisible Tittles, Peccadillo's or Chimera's. The sad and greatest Instances are SACRILEGE, REBELLION, and WITCHCRAFT. For the two former, there are a Sort of Men (that are far from being profess'd Enemies to Religion) who, I do not know, whether they own any such Vices. We find no Mention of them in their most particular Confessions, nor have I observed them in those Sermons, that have contained the largest Catalogues of the Sins of our Age and Nation. 'Twere dangerous to speak of them as Sins, for Fear who should be found guilty. But my Business, at present, is not with these, but the other, WITCHCRAFT, which, I am sure, was a Sin of elder Times ;

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Times; and how comes it about, that our Age, which so much out-does them in all other Kinds of Wickedness, should be wholly innocent in this? That there MAY be WITCHES and Apparitions in our Days, notwithstanding the Objections of the modern Sadduce, I believe I have made appear in the CONSIDERATION following; in which I did not primarily intend direct Proof, but DEFENCE, as the Title of the first Edition, which is restor'd in these later, mention'd.

A N D if it should be objected, That I have, for the most Part, used only Supposals and conjectural Things, in the Vindication of the common Belief, and speak with no point-blank Assurance in my particular Answers, as I do in the general Conclusion, I need only say, That the Proposition, I defend, is Matter of Fact, which the Disbelievers impugn, by alledging that it cannot be, or it is not likely: In Return to which, if I shew how those Things may be, and probably, notwithstanding their Allegations, though I say not downright that they are in the particular Way I offer, yet 'tis enough for the Design of Defence, though not for that of Proof: For when one saith a Thing cannot be, and I tell him how possibly it may, though I hit not the just Manner of it, I yet defeat the Objection against it, and make Way for the Evidence of the Thing de Facto; which now I have added from the Divine Oracles, and two modern Relations that are clear and unexceptionable.

I have no Humour, nor Delight, in telling Stories, and do not publish these, for the Gratification of those that have; but I record them as Arguments, for the Confirmation of a Truth, which hath, indeed, been attested by Multitudes of the like Evidences, in all Places and Times. But Things remote, or long past, are either not believed, or forgotten; whereas these being fresh and near, and attended with all the Circumstances of Credibility, it may be expected, they should have the more Success, upon the Obstinacy of Unbelievers.

But after all this, I must confess, there is one Argument against me, which is not to be dealt with, viz. a mighty Confidence grounded upon nothing, that swaggers and huffs, and swears there are no Witches. For such Philosophers as these, let them enjoy the Opinion of their own superlative Judgments, and enter me in the first Rank of Fools, for crediting my Senses, and those of all the World, before their

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their sworn Dictates. If they will believe in Scott, Hobbes, and Osborne, and think them more infallible, than the Sacred Oracles, the History of all Ages, and the full Experience of our own, who can help it? They must not be contradicted, and they are resolv'd not to be persuaded. For this Sort of Men, I never go about to convince them of any Thing. If I can avoid it, I throw nothing before them, lest they should turn again and rend me. Their Opinions came into their Heads by Chance, when their little Reasons had no Notice of their Entrance; and they must be let alone to go out again of themselves, the same Way they enter'd. Therefore not to make much Noise, to disturb these infallible Huffers, (and they cannot hear a little for their own) I softly step by them, leaving only this Whisper behind me; that though their worshipful Ignorance, and Sottishness, can relish nothing of a Discourse, that doth not minister to Sensuality and Unbelief; yet my CONSIDERATIONS have had the good Fortune of a better Reception, from the braver and more generous Spirits, than my fondest Hopes could have expected; and Persons, whose good Thoughts I have Reason to value, have assured me, that their Kindness to my Book hath improved, upon second and more careful Perusals; which I mention, for this Purpose, that those that need my Remarks, and cannot feel them in a running Reading, may please to turn their Eyes back, and deliberately think over what I have offered; from which Course, I dare promise them more Satisfaction, than from their Haste.

JOS. GLANVILL,





SOME
CONSIDERATIONS
ABOUT
WITCHCRAFT.

TO ROBERT HUNT, Esq;

SIR,



THE frequent and late Dealings you have had in the *Examination of Witches*, and the Regards of one that hath a very particular Honour for you, have brought you the Trouble of some CONSIDERATIONS on the Subject. And tho' what I have to say be but the unaccurate Product of a little Leisure; yet I hope it may afford you some, not unseasonable, Accounts of the odd *Phænomena* of *Witchcraft* and *Fascination*, and contribute to the DEFENCE of the *Truth*, and *Certainty* of Matters, which you know by *Experiments* that could not deceive, in spite of the petty *Exceptions* of those, that are resolv'd to believe nothing in Affairs of this Nature.

AND if any Thing were to be much *admired* in an Age of *Wonders*, not only of *Nature*, (which is a constant *Prodigy*)

2 *Considerations about WITCHCRAFT.*

digy) but of *Men and Manners*; it would be to me Matter of *Astonishment*, that Men, otherwise witty and ingenious, are fallen into the Conceit, that there is no such Thing as a *Witch*, or *Apparition*; but that these are the Creatures of *Melancholy* and *Superstition*, foster'd by Ignorance and Design; which, comparing the Confidence of their Disbelief, with the Evidence of the Things denied, and the Weakness of their Grounds, would almost suggest, that themselves are an Argument of what they deny; and that so confident an Opinion could not be held, upon such Inducements, but by some Kind of Witchcraft and Fascination in the Fancy. And, perhaps, that evil Spirit, whose Influences they will not allow in Actions ascribed to such Causes, hath a greater Hand and Interest in their Proposition, than they are aware of. For that subtle Enemy of Mankind (since Providence will not permit him to mischief us without our own Concurrence) attempts that by Stratagom and Artifice, which he could never effect by open Ways of acting; and the Success of all Wiles, depending upon their Secresy and Concealment, his Influence is never more dangerous, than when his Agency is least suspected. In order therefore to the carrying on the dark and hidden Designs he manageth against our Happiness and our Souls, he cannot expect to advantage himself more, than by insinuating a Belief, *that there is no such Thing as himself*; but that Fear and Fancy make Devils now, as they did Gods of old. Nor can he ever draw the Assent of Men, to so dangerous an Assertion, while the standing sensible Evidences of his Existence, in his Practices by and upon his Instruments, are not discredited and removed.

'Tis doubtless, therefore, the Interest of this *Agent of Darknes*, to have the World believe, that the Notion, they have of him, is but a *Phantasm* and Conceit; and, in order thereunto, that the Stories of *Witches*, *Apparitions*, and indeed every Thing that brings Tidings of another World, are but *melancholick Dreams*, and *pious Romances*. And when Men are arrived thus far, to think there are no *diabolical Contracts*, or *Apparitions*, their Belief, that there are such Spirits, rests only upon their Faith and Reverence to the Divine Oracles, which we have little Reason to apprehend so great in such Assertors, as to command much from their Assent; especially in such Things, in which they have corrupt Interests against their Evidence. So that
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he that thinks, there is no Witch, believes a Devil *gratis* ; or, at least, upon Inducements, which he is like to find himself disposed to deny, when he pleaseth. And when Men are arriv'd to this Degree of Diffidence and Infidelity, we are beholden to them, if they believe either Angel or Spirit, Resurrection of the Body, or Immortality of Souls. These Things hang together in a Chain of Connexion, at least in these Mens *Hypothesis* ; and 'tis but an happy Chance, if he, that hath lost one Link, holds another. So that the Vitals of Religion being so much interested in this Subject, it will not be an unnecessary Employment, particularly to discourse it.

AND in order to the Proof, that there have been, and are unlawful Confederacies with evil Spirits, by vertue of which, the hellish Accomplices perform Things, above their natural Powers, I must premise, that this, being Matter of Fact, is only capable of the Evidence of Authority and Sense ; and, by both these, the Being of Witches and diabolical Contracts is most abundantly confirm'd. All Histories are full of the Exploits of those Instruments of Darkeness, and the Testimony of all Ages, not only of the rude and barbarous, but of the most civilized and polished World, brings Tidings of their strange Performances. We have the Attestation of Thousands of Eye and Ear-witnesses, and those not of the easily deceivable Vulgar only, but of wise and grave Discerners ; and that, when no Interest could oblige them to agree together in a common Lye. I say, we have the Light of all these Circumstances to confirm us in the Belief of Things done by Persons of despicable Power and Knowledge, beyond the Reach of Art and ordinary Nature. Standing publick Records have been kept of these well attested Relations, and *Epocha*'s made of those unwonted Events. Laws in many Nations have been enacted against those vile Practices ; those, among the *Jews* and our own, are notorious ; such Cases have been often determined near us, by wise and reverend Judges, upon clear and convictive Evidence ; and Thousands in our own Nation have suffer'd Death, for their vile Compacts with Apostate Spirits. All these I might largely prove in their particular Instances, but that 'tis not needful, since those, that deny the Being of Witches, do it not out of Ignorance of these Heads of Argument, of which probably they have heard a thousand Times ; but from an Apprehension that such a Belief is absurd, and the Things

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4 *Considerations about WITCHCRAFT.*

impossible. And upon these Presumptions they condemn all Demonstrations of this Nature, and are hardened against Conviction. And, I think, those that can believe all Histories are Romances; that all the wiser World have agreed together to juggle Mankind into a common Belief of ungrounded Fables; that the sound Senses of Multitudes together may deceive them, and Laws are built upon *Chimæra's*; that the gravest and wisest Judges have been Murderers, and the sagest Persons Fools, or designing Impostors. I say, those, that can believe this Heap of Absurdities, are either more credulous than those whose Credulity they reprehend; or else have some extraordinary Evidence of their Persuasion, *viz. That 'tis absurd and impossible there should be a VVitch, or Apparition.* And, I am confident, were those little Appearances remov'd, which Men have form'd in their Fancies, against the Belief of such Things, their own Evidence would make its Way to Mens Assent, without any more Arguments than what they know already to enforce it. There is nothing then necessary to be done, in order to the establishing the Belief I would reconcile to Mens Minds, but to endeavour the Removal of those Prejudices they have received against it; the chief of which I shall particularly deal with. And I begin with that bold Assertion.

S E C T. II. *Obj. i.*

The Notion of a Spirit is impossible and contradictory; and consequently, so is that of Witches; the Belief of which is founded on that Doctrine.

TO which *Objection*, I answer, First, If the *Notion* of a *Spirit* be absurd, as is pretended; that of a God and a Soul distinct from Matter, and immortal, are likewise Absurdities; and then, that the World was jumbled into this elegant and orderly Fabrick by Chance; and that our Souls are only Parts of Matter that came together; we know not whence; nor how, and shall again shortly be dissolv'd into those loose *Atoms* that compound them; that all our Conceptions are but the Thrusting of one Part of Matter against another; and the *Ideas* of our Minds meer blind and casual Motions. These, and a Thousand more, the grossest Impossibilities and Absurdities (Consequents of this

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Considerations about WITCHCRAFT. 5

Proposition, *that the Notion of a Spirit is absurd*) will be sad Certainties and Demonstrations. And with such Assertors I would cease to discourse about Witches and Apparitions, and address my self to obtain their Assent to Truths infinitely more sacred.

AND yet, 2dly, Tho' it should be granted them, that a Substance immaterial is as much a Contradiction, as they can fancy; yet why should they not believe, that the Air, and all the Regions above us, may have their invisible intellectual Agents of Nature, like unto our Souls, be that what it will, and some of them, at least, as much degenerate as the vilest and most mischievous among Men? This *Hypothesis* will be enough to secure the Possibility of Witches and Apparitions. And that all the upper Stories of the Universe are furnished with Inhabitants, 'tis infinitely reasonable to conclude from the Analogy of Nature; since we see there is nothing so contemptible and vile in the World we reside in, but hath its living Creatures that dwell upon it; the Earth, the Water, the inferior Air, the Bodies of Animals, the Flesh, the Skin, the Entrails, the Leaves, the Roots, the Stalks of Vegetables; yea, and all Kind of Minerals in the subterraneous Regions. I say, all these have their proper Inhabitants; yea, I suppose, this Rule may hold in all distinct Kinds of Bodies in the World, *That they have their peculiar Animals*. The Certainty of which, I believe, the Improvement of microscopical Observations will discover. From whence I infer, That since this little Spot is so thickly peopled in every *Atom* of it, 'tis Weakness to think, that all the vast Spaces above, and Hollows under Ground, are desert and uninhabited. And if both the superior and lower Continents of the Universe have their Inhabitants also, 'tis exceedingly improbable, arguing from the same Analogy, that they are all of the meer sensible Nature, but that they are, at least, some of the rational and intellectual Orders. Which supposed, there is good Foundation for the Belief of Witches and Apparitions, tho' the Notion of a Spirit should prove as absurd and unphilosophical, as I judge the Denial of it. And so this first Objection comes to nothing. I descend then to the second Prejudice, which may be thus formed in behalf of the Objectors.

S E C T. III. Obj. 2.

There are Actions, in most of those Relations ascribed to Witches, which are ridiculous and impossible in the Nature of Things; such are (1.) their flying out of Windows, after they have anointed themselves, to remote Places. (2.) their Transformation into Cats, Hares, and other Creatures: (3.) their feeling all the Hurts in their own Bodies, which they have receiv'd in those: (4.) Their raising Tempests by muttering some nonsensical Words, or performing Ceremonies, alike impertinent as ridiculous. And (5.) their being suck'd, in a certain private Place in their Bodies, by a Familiar. These are presumed to be Actions inconsistent with the Nature of Spirits, and above the Power of those poor and miserable Agents. And therefore the Objection supposeth them performed only by the Fancy, and that the whole Mystery of Witchcraft is but an Illusion of crazy Imagination.

TO this aggregate Objection I return, (1.) in the general, The more absurd and unaccountable these Actions seem, the greater Confirmations are they to me of the Truth of those Relations, and the Reality of what the Objectors would destroy. For these Circumstances being exceeding unlikely, judging by the Measures of common Belief, 'tis the greater Probability they are not fictitious: For the Contrivers of Fictions use to form them, as near as they can, conformably to the most unsuspected Realities, endeavouring to make them look as like Truth, as is possible, in the main Supposals, tho' withal, they make them strange in the Circumstance. None but a Fool, or a Mad-man, would relate, with a Purpose of having it believed, that he saw, in *Ireland*, Men with Hoofs on their Heads, and Eyes in their Breasts; or if any should be so ridiculously vain, as to be serious in such an incredible Romance, it cannot be supposed that all Travellers, that come into those Parts after him, should tell the same Story. There is a large Field in Fiction; and if all those Relations were arbitrary Compositions, doubtless, the first Romancers would have framed them more agreeable to the common Doctrine of Spirits; at least, after these supposed Absurdities had been a thousand Times laugh'd at, People, by this Time, would have learned

to correct those obnoxious Extravagancies; and tho' they have not yet more Veracity than the Ages of Ignorance and Superstition, yet one would expect they should have got more Cunning. This suppos'd Impossibility then of these Performances seems to me a probable Argument, that they are not wilful and designed Forgeries. And if they are Fancies, 'tis somewhat strange, that Imagination, which is the most various Thing in all the World, should infinitely repeat the same Conceit in all Times and Places.

BUT again (2.) the strange *Actions* related of *Witches*, and presumed *impossible*, are not ascribed to their own Powers, but to the Agency of those wicked *Confederates* they imploy. And to affirm that those *evil Spirits* cannot do that which we conceit *impossible*, is boldly to flint the Powers of Creatures, whose Natures and Faculties we know not; and to measure the World of *Spirits* by the narrow Rules of our own *impotent Beings*. We see, among our selves, the *Performances* of some out-go the *Conceits* and *Possibilities* of others; and we know many Things may be done by the *Mathematicks* and *Mechanick Artifice*, which common Heads think *impossible* to be effected by the honest Ways of *Art* and *Nature*. And doubtless, the *Subtleties* and *Powers*, of those *mischievous Fiends*, are as much Beyond the Reach and Activities of the most knowing *Agents* among us, as theirs are beyond the Wit and Ability of the most *rustick* and *illiterate*. So that the utmost that any Man's Reason in the World can amount to, in this Particular, is only this, That he cannot conceive how such Things can be performed; which only argues the *Weakness* and *Imperfection* of our *Knowledge* and *Apprehensions*, not the *Impossibility* of those Performances: And we can no more, from hence, form an Argument against them, than against the most *ordinary Effects* in *Nature*. We cannot conceive how the *Fœtus* is form'd in the *Womb*, nor as much as how a *Plant* springs from the *Earth* we tread on; we know not how our *Souls* move the *Body*, nor how these distant and extreme *Natures* are *united*; as I have abundantly shewn in my *SCEPSIS SCIENTIFICA*. And if we are ignorant of the most *obvious* Things about us, and the most *considerable* within ourselves, 'tis then no wonder that we know not the *Constitution* and *Powers* of the *Creatures*, to whom we are such Strangers. Briefly then, *Matters of Fact* well proved ought not to be denied, because we

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cannot conceive, how they can be perform'd. Nor is it a reasonable Method of Inference, first to presume the Thing *impossible*, and thence to conclude, that the *Fact* cannot be *proved*. On the contrary, we should judge of the *Action* by the *Evidence*, and not the *Evidence* by the Measures of our Fancies about the *Action*. This is proudly to exalt our own *Opinions* above the clearest *Testimonies* and most sensible *Demonstrations* of *Fact*; and so to give the *Lye* to all *Mankind*, rather than distrust the *Conceits* of our bold *Imaginations*. But yet farther,

(3) I think there is nothing in the *Instances* mention'd, but what may as well be accounted for by the Rules of *Reason* and *Philosophy*, as the ordinary Affairs of *Nature*. For in resolving *natural Phænomena*, we can only assign the probable *Causes*, shewing how Things *may be*, not presuming how they are. And in the Particulars under our *Examen*, we may give an Account how 'tis *possible*, and not unlikely, that such Things (though somewhat varying from the common *Road* of *Nature*) may be acted. And if our narrow and contracted Minds can furnish us with Apprehensions of the Way and Manner of such Performances, though, perhaps, not the true ones, 'tis an Argument that such Things may be effected by Creatures, whose Powers and Knowledge are so vastly exceeding ours. I shall endeavour, therefore, briefly to suggest some Things, that may render the *Possibility* of these Performances *conceivable*, in order to the Removal of this *Objection*, that they are *Contradictions*, and *impossible*.

FOR the *FIRST* then, That the *confederate Spirit* should transport the *Witch* through the Air, to the Place of general *Rendezvous*, there is no Difficulty in conceiving it; and if that be true, which great Philosophers affirm, concerning the real *Separability* of the *Soul* from the *Body* without *Death*, there is yet less; for then 'tis easy to apprehend, the *Soul* having left its gross and sluggish *Body* behind it, and being cloth'd only with its *immediate Vehicle* of *Air*, or more *subtile Matter*, may be quickly conducted to any Place it would be at by those *officious Spirits* that attend it. And though I adventure to affirm nothing concerning the Truth and Certainty of this *Supposition*, yet I must needs say, it doth not seem to me *unreasonable*. And our Experience of *Apoplexies*, *Epilepsis*, *Extasies*, and the strange Things Men report to have seen, during those *Deliquiums*, look favourably upon this *Conjecture*; which seems

to me to contradict no Principle of Reason or Philosophy ; since *Death* consists not so much in the *actual Separation* of *Soul and Body*, as in the *Indisposition* and *Unfitness* of the *Body* for *vital Union*, as an excellent *Philosopher* hath made good. On which *Hypothesis*, the *Witch's* anointing herself, before she takes her Flight, may, perhaps, serve to keep the *Body* *tenantable*, and in fit *Disposition* to receive the *Spirit* at its Return. These Things, I say, we may conceive, though I affirm nothing about them ; and there is not any Thing in such *Conceptions*, but what hath been own'd by Men of Worth and Name, and may seem fair and accountable enough to those who judge not altogether by the Measures of the *Populace* and *customary Opinion*. And there's a Saying of the great *Apostle*, that seems to countenance this *Platonick* Notion ; what is the Meaning else of that Expression [*Whether in the Body, or out of the Body, I cannot tell*] except the *Soul* may be separated from the *Body* without *Death* ? Which, if it be granted *possible*, 'tis sufficient for my Purpose. And

(2.) The *Transformations* of *Witches*, into the *Shapes* of other *Animals*, upon the same Supposal, is very *conceivable* ; since then, 'tis easy enough to imagine, that the Power of *Imagination* may form those *passive* and *pliable Vehicles* into those *Shapes*, with more Ease, than the *Fancy* of the *Mother* can the stubborn Matter of the *Fœtus* in the Womb, as we see it frequently doth, in the Instances that occur of *Signatures* and *monstrous Singularities* ; and perhaps, sometimes the *confederate Spirit* puts Tricks upon the Senses of the *Spectators*, and those *Shapes* are only *Illusions*.

BUT then (3.) when they feel the Hurts in their gross Bodies, that they receive in their *airy Vehicles*, they must be supposed to have been really present, at least in these latter ; and 'tis no more difficult to apprehend, how the Hurts of *those* should be translated upon their other Bodies, than how *Diseases* should be inflicted by the *Imagination*, or how the *Fancy* of the *Mother* should wound the *Fœtus*, as several credible Relations do attest.

AND (4.) for their raising *Storms* and *Tempests*, they do it not, be sure, by their *own*, but by the Power of the *Prince* of the *Air*, their Friend and Ally ; and the *Ceremonies*, that are enjoin'd them, are doubtless nothing else, but *Entertainments* for their *Imaginations*, and are, likely, design'd to persuade them, that they do these strange Things *themselves*.

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AND (lastly) for their being *suck'd* by their *Familiar*, I say (1.) we know so little of the Nature of *Dæmons* and *Spirits*, that 'tis no Wonder we cannot certainly divine the Reason of so strange an Action. And yet (2.) we may conjecture at some Things, that may render it less *improbable*: For some have thought, that the *Genii* (whom both the *Platonical* and *Christian Antiquity* thought embodied) are recreated by the *Reeks* and *Vapours* of *human Blood*, and the *Spirits* that proceed from them: Which Supposal (if we grant them Bodies) is not unlikely, every Thing being *refresh'd* and *nourish'd* by its like. And that they are not perfectly *abstracted* from all *Body* and *Matter*, besides the Reverence we owe to the wisest Antiquity, there are several considerable Arguments, I could alledge, to render it probable. Which Things supposed, the *Devil's sucking* the *Sorcerefs* is no great Wonder, nor difficult to be accounted for. Or, perhaps, (3.) this may be only a *diabolical Sacrament* and *Ceremony*, to confirm the *hellish Covenant*. To which I add, (4.) That which to me seems most probable, *viz.* That the *Familiar* doth not only suck the *Witch*, but, in the Action, infuseth some *poisonous Ferment* into her, which gives her *Imagination* and *Spirits* a *magical Tincture*, whereby they become *mischievously influential*; and the Word, *Venefica*, intimates some such Matter. Now, that the *Imagination* hath a mighty Power in *Operation*, is seen in the just now mention'd *Signatures* and *Diseases* that it causeth; and, that the *Fancy* is modified by the *Qualities* of the *Blood* and *Spirits*, is too evident to need Proof. Which Things supposed, 'tis plain to conceive, that the *evil Spirits* having breathed some vile *Vapour*, into the *Body* of the *Witch*, it may taint her *Blood* and *Spirits* with a *noxious Quality*; by which her *infected Imagination*, heightened by *Melancholy*, and this worse Cause, may do much Hurt upon *Bodies*, that are impressible by such *Influences*. And 'tis very likely, that this *Ferment* disposeth the *Imagination* of the *Sorcerefs*, to cause the mention'd *ὑπαίρεσις*, or *Separation* of the *Soul* from the *Body*; and may, perhaps, keep the *Body* in fit Temper for its *Re-entry*, as also it may facilitate *Transformation*, which, it may be, could not be effected by *ordinary* and *unassisted* *Imagination*.

THUS we see, 'tis not so desperate to form an Apprehension of the Manner of these odd Performances; and though

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though they are not done the Way I have describ'd, yet what I have said may help us to a Conceit of the Possibility, which sufficeth for my Purpose. And though the *Hypothesis*, I have gone upon, will seem as unlikely to some, as the Things, they attempt to explain, are to others; yet I must desire their Leave to suggest, that most Things seem improbable (especially to the *conceited* and *opinionative*) at first Proposal; and many great *Truths* are *strange* and *odd*, till *Custom* and *Acquaintance* have reconciled them to our Fancies. And I'll presume to add on this Occasion, (tho' I love not to be confident in affirming) that there is none of the *Platonical Supposals* I have used, but what I could make appear to be *fair* and *reasonable*, to the capable and unprejudiced.

S E C T. IV. Obj. 3.

But, thirdly, I come to another Prejudice against the Being of Witches; which is, That 'tis very improbable that the Devil, who is a wise and mighty Spirit, should be at the Beck of a poor Hag, and have so little to do, as to attend the Errands and impotent Lusts of a silly old Woman.

TO which I might answer, (1.) That 'tis much more *improbable*, that all the World should be *deceiv'd* in *Matters of Fact*, and Circumstances of the clearest Evidence and Conviction, than that the *Devil*, who is *wicked*, should be also *unwise*; and that he, that persuades all his Subjects and Accomplices out of their Wits, should himself act like his own Temptations and Persuasions. In Belief, there is nothing more strange in this Objection, than that *Wickedness is Baseness and Servility*; and that the *Devil* is at Leisure to serve those, he is at Leisure to tempt, and industrious to ruin. And again, (2.) I see no *Necessity* to believe that the *Devil* is always the *Witch's Confederate*; but perhaps it may be fitly consider'd, whether the *Familiar* be not some *departed human Spirit*, forsaken of God and Goodness, and swallowed up by the unsatiable Desire of Mischief and Revenge; which, possibly, by the *Laws* and *Capacity* of its *State*, it cannot execute *immediately*. And why we should presume, that the *Devil* should have the Liberty of wandering up and down the Earth and Air,

when he is said to be held in the *Chains of Darkneſs* ; and yet that the *ſeparated Souls* of the *wicked*, of whom no ſuch Thing is affirm'd in any *ſacred Record*, ſhould be thought ſo *imprison'd*, that they cannot poſſibly wag from the Place of their *Confinement*, I know no Shadow of Conjecture. This Conceit, I am confident, hath prejudiced many againſt the Belief of *Witches* and *Apparitions* ; they not being able to conceive, that the *Devil* ſhould be ſo *ludicrous*, as *appearing Spirits* are ſometimes reported to be in their *Frolicks* : And they preſume, that *Souls departed* never *reviſit the free and open Regions* ; which Confidence I know nothing to juſtify : For ſince good Men, in their *State of Separation*, are ſaid to be *ἰσαγγελοι* why the *wicked* may not be ſuppoſed to be *ἱποδαίμονες* in the worſt Senſe of the Word, I know nothing to help me to imagine. And if it be ſuppoſed, that the *Imps* of *Witches* are ſometimes *wicked Spirits* of our *own Kind and Nature*, and poſſibly the ſame that have been *Sorcerers* and *Witches* in this Life : This Suppoſal may give a fairer and more probable Account, of many of the *Actions of Sorcery and Witchcraft*, than the other *Hypotheſis*, that they are always *Devils*. And, to this Conjecture, I'll adventure to ſubjoin another which alſo hath its *Probability*, viz. (3.) That 'tis not impoſſible, but the *Familiars of Witches* are a vile Kind of *Spirits*, of a very inferior Conſtitution and Nature, and none of thoſe, that were once of the higheſt *Hierarchy*, now degenerated into the *Spirits* we call *Devils*. And, for my Part, I muſt confeſs, that I think the common *Division of Spirits* much too general ; conceiving it likely, there may be as great a *Variety of intellectual Creatures* in the *inviſible World*, as there is of *Animals* in the *Viſible*. And that all the *Superior*, yea, and *inferior Regions*, have their ſeveral Kinds of *Spirits*, differing in their *natural Perfections*, as well as in the *Kinds and Degrees* of their *Depravities* ; which being ſuppoſed, 'tis very probable, that thoſe of the *baſeſt and meaneſt Orders* are they, who ſubmit to the mention'd *Servilities*. And thus the *Sageſs and Grandeur* of the *Prince of Darkneſs* need not be brought into Queſtion.

S E C T. V. Obj. 4.

But (IV.) the Opinion of Witches seems, to some, to accuse Providence, and to suggest that it hath exposed Innocents to the Fury and Malice of revengeful Fiends ; yea, and supposeth those most obnoxious, for whom we might most reasonably expect a more special tutelary Care and Protection ; most of the cruel Practices of those presum'd Instruments of Hell being upon Children, who, as they least deserve to be deserted by that Providence that superintends all Things, so they most need its guardian Influence.

TO this so specious an Objection, I have these Things to answer. (1.) Providence is an unfathomable Depth ; and if we should not believe the Phenomena of our Senses, before we can reconcile them to our Notions of Providence, we must be grosser Scepticks than ever yet were extant. The Miseries of the present Life, the unequal Distributions of Good and Evil, the Ignorance and Barbarity of the greatest Part of Mankind, the fatal Disadvantages we are all under, and the Hazard we run of being eternally miserable and undone ; these, I say, are Things that can hardly be made consistent with that Wisdom and Goodness, that, we are sure, hath made and mingled itself with all Things. And yet we believe, there is a Beauty and Harmony, and Goodness in that Providence, though we cannot unriddle it in particular Instances ; nor, by Reason of our Ignorance and Imperfection, clear it from contradicting Appearances ; and, consequently, we ought not deny the Being of Witches and Apparitions, because they will create us some Difficulties in our Notions of Providence. But to come more close, (2.) Those that believe that Infants are Heirs of Hell, and Children of the Devil, as soon as they are disclosed to the World, cannot certainly offer such an Objection ; for what is a little trifling Pain of a Moment, to those eternal Tortures, to which, if they die as soon as they are born, according to the Tenour of this Doctrine, they are everlastingly exposed ? But however the Case stands as to that, 'tis certain, (3.) That Providence hath not secured them from other Violences they are obnoxious to, from Cruelty and Accident ; and yet we accuse It not, when a whole Town, full of Innocents, falls a Victim to the Rage and Fe-

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rity of barbarous Executioners in Wars and Massacres. To which I add, (4.) That 'tis likely the *Mischief* is not so often done by the *evil Spirit immediately*, but by the *malignant Influences* of the *Sorceress*, whose *Power* of hurting consists in the foremention'd *Ferment*, which is infused into her by the *Familiar*. So that I am apt to think, there may be a *Power* of real *Fascination*, in the *Witch's Eyes* and *Imagination*; by which, for the most Part, she acts upon tender Bodies. *Nescio quis teneros oculos* — For the *pestilential Spirits*, being darted by a *spightful and vigorous Imagination* from the Eye, and meeting with those that are are weak and passive in the Bodies which they enter, will not fail to infect them with a noxious Quality, that makes dangerous and strange Alterations in the Person invaded by this poisonous Influence; which Way of acting, by subtle and invisible Instruments, is ordinary and familiar in all natural *Efficiencies*. And 'tis now past Question, that Nature, for the most Part, acts by *subtile Streams* and *Appor-rhea's* of *minute Particles*, which pass from one Body to another. Or however that be, this Kind of Agency is as conceivable, as any one of those *Qualities* Ignorance hath call'd *Sympathy* and *Antipathy*; the Reality of which we doubt not, tho' the Manner of *Action* be unknown. Yea the Thing, I speak of, is as easy to be apprehended, as how *Infection* should pass, in certain *tenuous Streams* thro' the *Air*, from one House to another; or, as how the *Biting* of a *mad Dog* should fill all the *Blood* and *Spirits* with a *venomous and malignant Ferment*; the Application of the *Vertue* doing the same in our Case, as that of *Contact* doth in this. Yea, some Kinds of *Fascination* are perform'd in this grosser and more sensible Way, as by *striking*, giving *Apples*, and the like, by which the *contagious Quality* may be transmitted, as we see Diseases often are by the *Touch*. Now, in this Way of Conjecture, a good Account may be given, why *Witches* are most powerful upon *Children* and timorous Persons, viz. because their *Spirits* and *Imaginations*, being weak and passive, are not able to resist the *fatal Invasion*; whereas Men of bold Minds, who have Plenty of *strong and vigorous Spirits*, are secure from the *Contagion*; as, in *pestilential Airs*, clean Bodies are not so liable to Infection, as other Tempers. Thus, then we see 'tis likely enough, that, very often, the *Sorceress* herself doth the *Mischief*; and we know, *de facto*, that

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Providence doth not always secure us from one another's Injuries: And yet I must confess, that many Times also the evil Spirit is the mischievous Agent; tho' this Confession draws on me another Objection, which I next propose.

S E C T. VI. Obj. v.

Then it may be said, that if wicked Spirits can hurt us by the Direction, and at the Desire of a Witch, one would think they should have the same Power to do us Injury without Instigation or Compact; and, if this be granted, 'tis a Wonder that we are not always annoy'd and infected by them.

TO which I return, (1.) That the *Laws, Liberties, and Restraints* of the *Inhabitants* of the other World, are to us utterly *unknown*; and this Way we can only argue ourselves into *Confessions* of our *Ignorance*, which every Man must acknowledge, that is not as *immodest* as *ignorant*. It must be granted by all that own the *Being, Power, and Malice* of evil Spirits, that the *Security* we enjoy is wonderful; whether they act by *Witches* or not; and by what *Laws* they are kept from making us a Prey, to speak like *Philosophers*, we cannot tell; yea, why they should be permitted to tempt and ruin us in our *Souls*, and restrain'd from touching or hurting us in our *Bodies*, is a *Mystery* not easily *accountable*. But yet (2.) tho' we acknowledge their Power to vex and torment us in our *Bodies* also; yet a Reason may be given, why they are less frequent in this Kind of *Mischief*, viz. because their main Designs are levell'd against the Interest and Happiness of our *Souls*; which they can best promote, when their Actions are most *slly* and *secret*; whereas, did they ordinarily persecute Men in their *Bodies*, their *Agency* and *wicked Influence* would be discover'd, and make a mighty Noise in the World, whereby Men would be awaken'd to a suitable and vigorous Opposition, by the Use of such Means, as would engage *Providence* to rescue them from their Rage and Cruelties, and at last defeat them in their great Purposes of *undoing us eternally*. Thus we may conceive, that the *Security* we enjoy, may well enough consist with the Power and Malice of those evil Spirits; and upon this Account we may suppose, that *Laws*, of their own, may prohibit their unlicens'd Injuries

juries, not from any Goodness there is in their Constitutions, but in order to the more successful carrying on the Projects of the *dark Kingdom*; as Generals forbid Plunder, not out of Love to their Enemies, but in order to their own Success. And hence (3.) we may suppose a Law of Permission to hurt us, at the Instance of the *Sorcerers*, may well stand with the Policy of *Hell*, since, by gratifying the wicked Person, they encourage her in Malice and Revenge, and promote thereby the Main Ends of their black *Confederacy*, which are to propagate Wickedness, and to ruin us in our *eternal Interests*. And yet (4.) 'tis clear to those that believe the *History* of the *Gospel*, that *wicked Spirits* have vexed the Bodies of Men, without any *Instigation* that we read of; and, at this Day, 'tis very likely, that many of the *strange Accidents* and *Diseases*, that befall us, may be the *Infliction* of *evil Spirits*, prompted to hurt us, only by the Delight they take in *Mischief*. So that we cannot argue the Improbability of their hurting *Children* and others by *Witches* from our own Security and Freedom from the Effects of their Malice, which, perhaps, we feel in more Instances than we are aware of.

S E C T. VII. *Obj. 6.*

But (VI.) another Prejudice, against the Belief of Witches, is a Presumption upon the enormous Force of Melancholy and Imagination; which, without Doubt, can do wonderful Things; and beget strange Persuasions; and, to these Causes, some ascribe the presum'd Effects of Sorcery and Witchcraft.

To which I reply briefly, and yet I hope sufficiently.

(1.) **T**HAT to resolve all the *clear Circumstances* of *Fact*, which we find in well attested and confirm'd Relations of this Kind, into the Power of *deceivable Imagination*, is to make *Fancy* the greater *Prodigy*, and to suppose that it can do *stranger Feats*, than are believed of any other Kind of *Fascination*. And to think that *Pins* and *Nails*, for Instance, can, by the Power of *Imagination*, be conveyed within the Skin; or that *Imagination* should deceive so many, as have been Witnesses in *Objects* of *Sense*, in all the Circumstances of *Discovery*; this, I say, is to be infinitely more *credulous*, than the Assertors of *Sorcery*

cery and *Dæmoniac Contracts*. And, by the same Reason, it may be believ'd, that all the *Battles*, and *strange Events* of the World, which ourselves have not seen, are but *Dreams* and fond *Imaginations*; and likewise those that are fought in the *Clouds*, when the *Brains* of the *deluded Spectators* are the only *Theatre* of those *fancied Transactions*. And (2.) to deny Evidence of *Act*, because *their Imagination* may deceive the *Relators*, when we have no Reason to think so, but a bare Presumption that there is no such Thing, as is related, is quite to destroy the Credit of all *human Testimony*, and to make *all Men Lyars*, in a larger Sense than the *Prophet* concluded in his *Haste*. For not only the *Melancholick* and the *Fanciful*, but the *Grave* and the *Sober*, whose Judgments we have no Reason to suspect to be tainted by their *Imaginations*, have, from their own Knowledge and Experience, made Reports of this Nature. But to this, it will possibly be rejoin'd, and the *Reply* will be another *Prejudice* against the Belief, for which I contend, viz.

S E C T. VIII. Obj. 7.

That 'tis a suspicious Circumstance, that Witchcraft is but a Fancy, since the Persons, that are accused, are commonly poor and miserable old Women, who are over-grown with Discontent and Melancholy, which are very imaginative: And the Persons, said to be bewitch'd, are, for the most Part, Children, or People very weak, who are easily imposed upon, and are apt to receive strong Impressions from nothing; whereas, were there any such Thing really, 'tis not likely, but that the more cunning and subtle Desperado's, who might the more successfully carry on the mischievous Designs of the dark Kingdom, should be oftener engaged in those black Confederacies, and also one would expect Effects of the hellish Combination upon others, than the Innocent and Ignorant.

TO which *Objection*, it might, perhaps, be enough to return (as hath been above suggested) that nothing can be concluded by *this*, and such like Arguings; but that the *Policy* and *Manages* of the *Instruments* of *Darkness* are, to us, altogether *unknown*; and as much in the Dark, as their *Natures*; Mankind being no more acquainted with
the

the *Reasons* and *Methods* of *Action* in the other World, than poor *Cottagers* and *Mechanicks* are, with the *Intrigues* of *Government* and *Reasons* of *State*. Yea, peradventure, (2.) 'tis one of the great *Designs*, as 'tis certainly the *Interest*, of those wicked *Agents* and *Machinators*, industriously to hide from us their *Influences* and *Ways* of acting; and to work, as near as is possible, *incognito*; upon which Supposal, 'tis easy to conceive a Reason, why they most commonly work by, and upon, the Weak and the Ignorant, who can make no *cunning Observations*, or tell credible *Tales*, to detect their *Artifice*. Besides, (3.) 'tis likely a *strong Imagination*, that cannot be *weakened* or *disturb'd*, by a busy and subtle *Ratiocination*, is a necessary *Requisite* to those wicked Performances; and, without Doubt, an *heightened* and *obstinate Fancy* hath a great Influence upon *impressible Spirits*; yea, and, as I have conjectur'd before, on the more *passive* and *susceptible Bodies*. And, I am very apt to believe, that there are as *real Communications* and *Inter-courses* between our *Spirits*, as there are between *material Agents*; which *secret Influences*, tho' they are unknown, in their *Nature* and *Ways* of acting, yet they are sufficiently felt in their *Effects*; for *Experience* attests, that some, by the very *Majesty* and *Greatness* of their *Spirits*, discover'd by nothing but a certain *noble Air* that accompanies them, will *bear down* others *less great* and *generous*, and make them *sneak* before them; and some, by I know not what *stupifying Vertue*, will tie up the *Tongue*, and confine the *Spirits* of those, who are otherwise *brisk* and *voluble*. Which Thing supposed, the *Influences* of a *Spirit*, possessed of an *active* and *enormous Imagination*, may be *malign* and *fatal*, where they cannot be resisted; especially, when they are accompanied by those *poisonous Reeks*, that the *evil Spirits* breathes into the *Sorceress*; which, likely, are *shot out*, and applied by a *Fancy*, *heightened* and *prepared* by *Melancholy* and *Discontent*. And thus we may conceive, why the *Melancholick* and *Envious* are used upon such Occasions; and, for the same Reason, the *Ignorant*, since *Knowledge* checks and controuls *Imagination*; and those, that abound in the *imaginative Faculties*, do not usually exceed in the *Rational*. And, perhaps, (4.) the *Dæmon* himself useth the *Imagination* of the *Witch*, so *qualified* for his Purpose, even in those *Actions* of *Mischief* which are more properly his; for it is most probable, that *Spirits* act

not upon *Bodies immediately*, and by their *naked Essence*, but by *Means proportionate*, and *suitable Instruments*, that they use ; upon which Account, likely, 'tis so strictly required, that the *Sorcerers* should believe, that so her *Imagination* might be more at the *Devotion* of the *mischievous Agent*. And for the same Reason also, *Ceremonies* are used in *Inchantments*, viz. for the begetting this *diabolical Faith*, and heightening the *Fancy* to a Degree of *Strength* and *Vigour* sufficient, to make it a fit *Instrument* for the design'd Performance. Those, I think, are Reasons of *Likelihood* and *Probability*, why the *hellish Confederates* are mostly the *Ignorant* and *Melancholick*. To pass then to another Prejudice.

S E C T. IX. Obj. 8.

The frequent Impostures, that are met with in this Kind, beget in some a Belief, that all such Relations are Forgeries and Tales ; and if we urge the Evidence of a Story for the Belief of Witches, or Apparitions, they will produce two as seemingly strong and plausible, which shall conclude in Mistake, or Design ; inferring thence, that all others are of the same Quality and Credit.

But such Arguers may please to consider.

(1.) **T**HAT a single Relation for an *Affirmative*, sufficiently confirmed and attested, is worth a thousand *Tales of Forgery and Imposture*, from whence, an *universal Negative* cannot be concluded. So, that tho' all the *Objector's Stories* be true, and an hundred Times as many more such *Deceptions* ; yet one Relation, wherein no *Fallacy* or *Fraud* could be suspected for our *Affirmative*, would spoil any *Conclusion* could be erected on them. And,

(2.) It seems to me a Belief sufficiently *bold* and *precarious*, that all these Relations of *Forgery* and *Mistake* should be certain, and not one among all those which attest the *affirmative Reality*, with Circumstances as good as could be expected, or wished, should be true ; but all *fabulous* and *vain*. And they have no Reason to object *Credulity* to the *Affertors* of *Sorcery* and *Witchcraft*, that can swallow so large a Morsel. And I desire such *Objectors* to consider,

(3.) Whether

(3.) Whether it be fair to infer, That, because there are some *Cheats* and *Impostors*, that therefore there are no *Realities*. Indeed, Frequency of Deceit and Fallacy will warrant a greater Care and Caution in *examining*; and *Scrupulosity* and *Skiness* of *Assent* to Things, wherein Fraud hath been *practised*, or may, in the least Degree, be *suspected*: But to conclude, because that an old Woman's *Fancy* abused her, or some *knavish* Fellows put Tricks upon the ignorant and *timorous*, that therefore whole *Assizes* have been a thousand Times deceiv'd in *Judgments* upon *Matters* of *Fact*, and Numbers of sober Persons have been *forsworn*, in Things wherein *Perjury* could not advantage them; I say, such *Inferences* are as void of *Reason*, as they are of *Charity* and good *Manners*.

S E C T. X. *Obj. 9.*

But (IX.) it may be suggested farther, That it cannot be imagined what Design the Devil should have, in making those solemn Compacts, since Persons of such debauch'd and irreclaimable Dispositions, as those with whom he is supposed to confederate, are pretty securely his, antecedently to the Bargain, and cannot be more so by it, since they cannot put their Souls out of Possibility of the Divine Grace, but by the Sin that is unpardonable; or if they could so dispose, and give away themselves, it will, to some, seem very unlikely, that a great and mighty Spirit should oblige himself to such Observances, and keep such ado to secure the Soul of a silly Body, which 'twere Odds but it would be his, tho' he put himself to no farther Trouble than that of his ordinary Temptations.

TO which Suggestions, 'twere enough to say, that 'tis sufficient, if the Thing be well *prov'd*, tho' the Design be not known. And to argue *negatively*, *à fide*, is very un-conclusive in such Matters. The Laws and Affairs of the other World (as hath been intimated) are vastly differing from those of our Regions, and therefore 'tis no Wonder we cannot judge of their *Designs*, when we know nothing of their *Manages*, and so little of their *Natures*. The ignorant Looker-on can't imagine what the *Limner* means by those seemingly rude *Lines* and *Scræwls*, which he intends for the *Rudiments* of a *Picture*; and the *Figures* of *Mathematick*

Mathematick Operation are *Nonsense*, and *Dashes* at a *Venture*, to one uninstructed in *Mechanicks*. We are in the Dark to one another's Purposes and Intendments ; and there are a thousand Intrigues in our little Matters, which will not presently confess their Design, even to *sagacious Inquisitors*. And therefore tis Folly and Incogitancy to argue any Thing, one Way or other, from the Designs of a Sort of Beings, with whom we so little communicate ; and possibly, we can take no more Aim, or guess at their *Projects* and *Designments*, than the *gazing Beasts* can do at ours, when they see the *Traps* and *Gins* that are laid for them, but understand nothing what they mean. Thus in general.

But I attempt something more particularly, in order to which I must premise, that the *Devil* is a Name for a *Body Politick*, in which there are very different *Orders* and *Degrees* of *Spirits*, and, perhaps, in as much *Variety* of *Place* and *State*, as among ourselves ; so that 'tis not one and the same Person, that makes all the *Compacts* with those abused and seduced Souls, but they are divers, and those, 'tis like, of the meanest and basest Quality in the *Kingdom of Darkeness*: Which being supposed, I offer this Account of the *probable Design* of those *wicked Agents*, viz. That having none to *rule* and *tyrannize* over, within the *Circle* of their own Nature and Government, they affect a *proud Empire* over us, (the Desire of *Dominion* and *Authority* being largely spread through the whole *Circumference* of *degenerated Nature*, especially among those whose *Pride* was their *original Transgression*) every one of these then desires to get him *Vassals* to pay him *Homage*, and to be employ'd like *Slaves* in the *Services* of his *Lusts* and *Appetites* ; to gratify which Desire, 'tis like enough to be provided and allow'd, by the *Constitution* of their *State* and *Government*, that every *wicked Spirit* shall have those *Souls* as his *Property*, and *particular Servants* and *Attendants*, whom he can *catch* in such *Compacts* ; as those wild *Beasts*, that we can take in *hunting*, are, by the *Allowance* of the *Law*, our own ; and those *Slaves*, that a *Man* hath purchased, are his peculiar Goods, and the *Vassals* of his *Will*: Or rather, those deluding Fiends are like the seducing Fellows we call *Spirits*, who inveigle Children by their false and flattering Promises, and carry them away to the Plantations of *America*, to be servilely employ'd there in the Works of their Profit and Advantage.

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And as those base Agents will humour and flatter the simple unwary Youth, till they are on Shipboard, and without the Reach of those that might rescue them from their Hands: In like Manner, the more *mischievous Tempter* studies to gratify, please, and accommodate those he deals with in this Kind, till Death hath launch'd them into the *Deep*, and they are past the Danger of *Prayers, Repentance, and Endeavours*; and then he useth them, as pleaseth him. This Account, I think, is not unreasonable, and 'twill fully answer the Objection. For tho' the Matter be not as I have conjectur'd, yet 'twill suggest how it may be *conceiv'd*; which nulls the Pretence, that the *Design* is *unconceivable*.

S E C T. XI. *Obj. 10.*

But then (X.) we are still liable to be question'd, how it comes about, that those proud and insolent Designers practise in this Kind upon so few, when one would expect, that they should be still trading this Way, and every where be driving on the Project, which the Vileness of Men makes so feasible, and would so much serve the Interest of their Lusts.

TO which, among other Things that might be suggested, I return:

(1.) That we are never liable to be so betray'd and abused, till, by our *vile Dispositions and Tendencies*, we have forfeited the *tutelary Care, and Oversight* of the better Spirits; who, tho' generally they are our Guard and Defence against the Malice and Violence of evil *Angels*, yet it may well enough be thought, that some Time they may take their Leave of such as are swallow'd up by *Malice, Envy, and Desire of Revenge*, Qualities most contrary to their *Life and Nature*; and leave them exposed to the *Invasion and Solicitations* of those *wicked Spirits*, to whom such hateful *Attributes* make them very suitable. And if there be particular *Guardian Angels*, as 'tis not absurd to fancy, it may then be well suppos'd, that no Man is obnoxious to those Projects and Attempts, but only such whose *vile and mischievous Natures* have driven from them their *protecting Genius*. And against this Dereliction to the Power of evil *Spirits*, 'tis likely enough what

what some affirm, that the *Royal Psalmist* directs that Prayer, *Psal. lxxi. 9, 10. Cast me not off in the Time of old Age ; forsake me not when my Strength faileth. For — They that keep my Soul* [*φυλάσσοντες τὸ ψυχὴν μου*, as the *LXX.* and the *Vulgar Latin*, *Qui custodiunt animam meam*] they take Counsel together, saying, God hath forsaken him, persecute him and take him ; for there is none to deliver him. But I add (2.) That 'tis very probable, that the State, wherein they are, will not easily permit palpable Intercourses, between the bad *Genii* and *Mankind* ; since 'tis like enough, that their own Laws and Government do not allow their frequent Excursions into this World. Or, it may, with as great Probability, be supposed, that 'tis a very hard and painful Thing for them, to force their thin and tenuous Bodies, into a visible Consistence, and such Shapes as are necessary for their Designs in their Correspondencies with *Witches*. For, in this Action, their Bodies must needs be exceedingly compressed, which cannot well be without a painful Sense. And this is, perhaps, a Reason why there are so few Apparitions, and why appearing Spirits are commonly in such Haste to be gone, viz. that they may be deliver'd from the unnatural Pressure of their tender Vehicles ; which, I confess, holds more in the Apparitions of good, than evil Spirits ; most Relations of this Kind describing their Discoveries of themselves, as very transient, (though for those the Holy Scripture records, there may be peculiar Reasons, why they are not so) whereas the wicked Ones are not altogether so quick and hasty in their Visits : The Reason of which, probably, is, the great Subtlety and Tenuity of the Bodies of the former ; which will require far greater Degrees of Compression, and and, consequently of Pain, to make them visible ; whereas, the latter are saculent and gross, and so nearer allied to palpable Consistencies, and more easily reduceable to Appearance and Visibility.

At this Turn, Sir, you may perceive that I have again made Use of the *Platonick Hypothesis*, that Spirits are embodied ; upon which, indeed, a great Part of my Discourse is grounded : And, therefore, I hold myself oblig'd to a short Account of that Supposal. It seems then, to me, very probable, from the Nature of Sense, and Analogy of Nature. For (1.) we perceive in ourselves, that all Sense is caused and excited by Motion made in Matter ; and

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when those *Motions*, which convey *sensible Impressions* to the *Brain*, the Seat of Sense, are intercepted, Sense is lost : So that if we suppose *Spirits* perfectly to be *disjoin'd* from all *Matter*, 'tis not conceivable how they can have the Sense of any Thing ; for how *material Objects* should any Way be perceiv'd or felt, without *vital Union with Matter*, 'tis not possible to imagine. Nor doth it (2.) seem suitable to the *Analogy of Nature*, which useth not to make *precipitous Leaps* from one Thing to another, but usually proceeds by *orderly Steps and Gradations* : Whereas, were there no *Order of Beings* between *Us*, who are so deeply plung'd into the grossest Matter, and *pure unbodied Spirits*, 'twere a mighty *Jump* in Nature. Since then the greatest Part of the World consists of the *finer Portions* of Matter, and our own *Souls* are *immediately united* unto these, 'tis infinitely probable to conjecture, that the nearer Orders of Spirits are *vitally join'd* to such *Bodies* ; and so Nature by *Degrees*, ascending still by the more *refin'd* and *subtile Matter*, gets, at last, to the pure *Nóes* or *immaterial Minds*, which the *Platonists* made the *highest Order of created Beings*. But of this, I have discoursed elsewhere, and have said thus much of it at present, because it will enable me to add another Reason of the *Unfrequency of Apparitions and Compacts*, viz.

(3.) BECAUSE 'tis very likely, that these *Regions* are very *unsuitable*, and *disproportioned* to the *Frame and Temper* of their *Senses and Bodies* ; so that, perhaps, the *coarser Spirits* can no more bear the *Air* of our World, than *Bats* and *Owls* can the brightest Beams of Day. Nor can the *pure and better* any more endure the *noisome Steams*, and *poisonous Reeks* of this *Dunghil Earth*, than the *Delicate* can bear a Confinement in *nasty Dungeons*, and the foul *squalid Caverns* of uncomfortable Darkeness. So that 'tis no more Wonder, that the better Spirits no oftener appear, than that Men are not more frequently in *dark Hollows* under Ground. Nor is it any more strange, that *evil Spirits* so rarely visit us, than that *Fishes* do not ordinarily fly in the Air, as 'tis said one Sort of them doth ; or that we see not the *Bat* daily fluttering in the Beams of the Sun. And now, by the Help of what I have spoken under this Head, I am provided with some Things, wherewith to confute another Objection, which I thus propose.

S E C T. XII. Obj. II.

If there be such an Intercourse between evil Spirits and the Wicked, How comes it about that there is no Correspondence between good Angels and the Virtuous, since, without Doubt, these are as desirous to propagate the Spirit and Designs of the upper and better World, as those are to promote the Interest of the Kingdom of Darkness.

WHICH Way of arguing is still from our Ignorance of the State and Government of the other World, which *must* be confess'd, and may, without Prejudice to the Proposition I defend. But, particularly, I say, (1.) That we have Ground enough to believe, that good Spirits do interpose in, yea, and govern our Affairs. For that there is a Providence, reaching from Heaven to Earth, is generally acknowledged; but that *this* supposeth all Things to be ordered by the immediate Influence and Interposal of the Supreme Deity, some think it not very philosophical to suppose; since, if we judge by the Analogy of the natural World, all Things we see are carried on by the Ministry of second Causes, and intermediate Agents. And it doth not seem so magnificent and becoming an Apprehension of the Supreme Numen, to fancy his immediate Hand in every trivial Management. But 'tis exceeding likely to conjecture, that much of the Government of us, and our Affairs, is committed to the better Spirits, with a due Subordination and Subserviency to the Will of the chief Rector of the Universe. And 'tis not absurd to believe, that there is a Government runs from highest to lowest, the better and more perfect Orders of Being still ruling the inferior and less perfect. So that some one would fancy, that, perhaps, the Angels may manage us, as we do the Creatures that God and Nature have plac'd under our Empire and Dominion. But however that is, that God rules the lower World, by the Ministry of Angels, is very consonant to the Sacred Oracles. Thus Deut. xxxij. 8, 9. *When the Most High divided the Nations their Inheritance, when he separated the Sons of Adam, he set the Bounds of the People, Καὶ αἰθρὸν ἀγγέλων Θεῶν*, according to the Number of the Angels of God, as the Septuagint renders it; the Authority of which Translation is abundantly credited and asserted, by

its being quoted in the New Testament, without Notice of the *Hebrew* Text ; even there where it differs from it, as learned Men have observed. We know also, that *Angels* were very familiar with the *Patriarchs* of old ; and *Jacob's Ladder* is a *Mystery*, which imports their *ministring* in the Affairs of the lower World. Thus *Origen* and others understand that to be spoken by the *presidential Angels*, Jer. li. 9. *We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed : forsake her, and let us go.* Like the Voice heard in the *Temple*, before the taking of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*, Μεταβαίνων ἐν τῷ δειν. And, before *Nebuchadnezzar* was sent to learn Wisdom and Religion among the Beasts, he sees a *Watcher*, according to the LXX. an *Angel*, and an *holy one* come down from Heaven. Dan. iv. 13. who pronounceth the sad *Decree* against him, and calls it the *Decree* of the *Watchers*, who, very probably, werethe *Guardian Genii* of himself and his *Kingdom*. And, that there are particular *Angels* that have the special *Rule* and *Governement* of particular *Kingdoms*, *Provinces*, *Cities*, yea and of *Persons*, I know nothing that can make improbable : The Instance is notorious in *Daniel*, of the *Angels* of *Persia* and *Græcia*, that hindred the other that was engaged for the Concerns of *Judea* ; yea our Saviour himself tells us, that *Children have their Angels* ; and the Congregation of *Disciples* supposed that *St. Peter* had his. Which Things, if they be granted, the good Spirits have not so little to do with us, and our Matters, as is generally believ'd. And, perhaps, it would not be absurd, if we referr'd many of the *strange Twarts*, and unexpected *Events*, the *Disappointments* and *lucky Co-incidences* that befall us, the *unaccountable Fortunes* and *Successes* that attend some *lucky Men*, and the *unhappy Fates* that dog others, that seem born to be *miserable* ; the *Fame* and *Favour* that still waits on some, without any conceivable *Motive* to allure it, and the general *Neglect* of others more *deserving*, whose *Worth* is not *acknowledged* ; I say, these, and such like *odd Things*, may, with the greatest *Probability*, be resolved into the *Conduct* and *Manages* of those *invisible Supervisors*, that preside over, and govern our Affairs.

BUT if they so far concern themselves in our Matters, how is it that they appear not to maintain a visible and confess'd Correspondence with some of the better Mortals, who are most fitted for their Communications and their Influence ?

To which I have said some *Things* already, when I accounted for the *Unfrequency* of *Apparitions*; and I now add what I intend, for another Return to the main Objection, *viz.*

(2.) THAT the *Apparition* of good *Spirits* is not needful for the Designs of the *better World*, whatever such may be for the Interest of the other. For we have had the *Appearance* and *Cohabitation* of the *Son of God*; we have *Moses* and the *Prophets*, and the continued *Influence* of the *Spirit*, the greatest *Arguments* to strengthen *Faith*, the most powerful *Motives* to excite our *Love*, and the noblest *Encouragements* to quicken and raise our *Desires* and *Hopes*, any of which are more than the *Apparition* of an *Angel*; which would, indeed, be a great *Gratification* of the *Animal Life*, but it would render our *Faith* less noble, and less generous, were it frequently so assisted: *Blessed are they that believe, and yet have not seen.* Besides which, the good *Angels* have no such *Ends* to prosecute, as the gaining any *Vassals* to serve them, they being *ministring Spirits* for our *Good*, and no *self Designers* for a *proud and insolent Dominion* over us. And it may be, perhaps, not impertinently added, that they are not always *evil Spirits* that appear, as is (I know not well upon what *Grounds*) generally imagined; but that the extraordinary *Detections* of *Murders*, *latent Treasures*, *falsified* and *unfulfilled Bequests*, which are sometimes made by *Apparitions*, may be the courteous *Discoveries* of the better and more benign *Genii*. Yea, 'tis not unlikely, that those *Warnings* that the *World* sometimes hath of approaching *Judgments* and *Calamities* by *Prodigies*, and sundry odd *Phænomena*, are the kind *Informations* of some of the *Inhabitants* of the upper *World*. Thus was *Jerusalem* forewarn'd, before its *Sacking* by *Antiochus*, by those *airy Horsemen* that were seen through all the *City*, for almost 40 *Days* together. 2 *Mac.* v. 2, 3, and the other *prodigious Portents* that fore-ran its *Destruction* by *Titus*, which I mention, because they are *notorious Instances*. And, tho', for mine own Part, I scorn the *ordinary Tales* of *Prodigies*, which proceed from *superstitious Fears*, and *Unacquaintance* with *Nature*, and have been used to bad *Purposes* by the *Zealous* and the *Ignorant*; yet, I think that the *Arguments*, that are brought by a late very ingenious *Author*, to conclude against such *Warnings* and *Predictions* in the whole *Kind*, are *short* and

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inconsequent, and built upon too narrow *Hypothesis*. For if it be supposed, that there is a Sort of Spirits over us, and about us, who can give a probable Guess at the more *remarkable Futurities*, I know not why it may not be conjectur'd, that the Kindness they have for us, and the Appetite of foretelling strange Things, and the putting the World upon Expectation, which we find is very grateful to our own Natures, may not incline them also to give us some general Notice of those uncommon Events which they foresee. And I yet perceive no Reason we have to fancy, that whatever is done in this Kind, must needs be either *immediately from Heaven*, or from the *Angels*, by *extraordinary Commission and Appointment*. But it seems to me not unreasonable to believe, that *those officious Spirits*, that oversee our Affairs, perceiving some *mighty and sad Alterations* at Hand, in which their *Charge* is much concerned, cannot choose, by Reason of their *Affection* to us, but give us some *seasonable Hints* of those *approaching Calamities*; to which also, their natural Desire, to *foretel strange Things* to come, may contribute to incline them. And by this *Hypothesis*, the *fairest Probabilities*, and *strongest Ratiocinations* against *Prodigies*, may be made unserviceable. But this only by the Way.

S E C T. XIII.

I D E S I R E it may be considered farther,
(3.) That God himself affords his *Intimacies* and *Converses* to the *better Souls*, that are prepar'd for it; which is a *Privilege* infinitely beyond *angelical Correspondence*.

I C O N F E S S the *proud* and *phantastick Pretences* of many of the *conceited Melancholists* in this *Age*, to *divine Communion*, have prejudiced divers intelligent Persons, against the Belief of any such *happy Vouchsafement*; so that they conclude the Doctrine of *immediate Communion*, with the *Deity* in this *Life*, to be but as an *high-flown Notion* of *warm Imagination*, and *overhiscious Self-flattery*; and I acknowledge, I have myself had Thoughts of this Nature, supposing *Communion* with God to be nothing else but the *Exercise of Virtue*, and that *Peace*, and *those Comforts*, which naturally result from it.

B U T

BUT I have consider'd since, that God's more *near* and *immediate* imparting himself to the Soul, that is prepared for that Happiness by *divine Love, Humility* and *Resignation*, in the Way of a *vital Touch*, and *Sense*, is a Thing *possible* in itself, and will be a great Part of our *Heaven*. That *Glory* is begun in *Grace*, and God is pleased to give some *excellent* Souls the *happy Antepast*. That *holy Men*, in *antient* Times, have *sought* and *gloried* in this *Enjoyment*, and never complained so *forely*, as when it was *with-held*, and *interrupted*. That the *Expressions* of *Scripture* run infinitely *this Way*, and the *best* of modern good Men do, from their *Experience*, *attest it*. - That *this spiritualizeth Religion*, and *renders* its *Enjoyments* more *comfortable* and *delicious*. That it keeps the Soul under a *vivid Sense* of *God*, and is a grand *Security* against *Temptation*. That it holds it *steady*, amidst the *Flatteries* of a *prosperous* State, and gives it the most *grounded Anchorage* and *Support*, amidst the *Waves* of an *adverse* Condition. That 'tis the noblest *Encouragement* to *Virtue*, and the biggest *Affurance* of an *happy Immortality*. I say, I considered these *weighty* Things, and wonder'd at the *Carelessness* and *Prejudice* of *Thoughts*, that occasion'd my suspecting the *Reality* of so glorious a *Privilege*; I saw how little *Reason* there is, in denying Matters of *inward Sense*, because ourselves do not *feel* them, or cannot form an *Apprehension* of them in our *Minds*. I am convinc'd, that Things of *Gust* and *Relish* must be judg'd by the *sentient* and *vital Faculties*, and not by the *noetical Exercises* of *speculative Understandings*: And, upon the Whole, I believe infinitely, that the *divine Spirit* affords its *sensible Presence*, and *immediate beatifick Touch*, to some rare Souls, who are divested of *carnal Self* and *mundane Pleasures*, *abstracted* from the *Body* by *Prayer* and *holy Meditation*; *spiritual* in their *Desires*, and *calm* in their *Affections*; *devout* Lovers of *God* and *Virtue*, and *tenderly affectionate* to all the *World*; *sincere* in their *Aims*, and *circumspect* in their *Actions*; *enlarged* in their *Souls*, *clear* in their *Minds*: These, I think, are the *Dispositions* that are requisite to fit us for *divine Communion*; and God transacts not in this *near* Way, but with *prepar'd Spirits*, who are thus disposed for the *Manifestation* of his *Presence* and his *Influence*: And such, I believe, he never fails to bless with these *happy Foretastes* of *Glory*.

BUT for those that are *passionate and conceited, turbulent and notional, confident and immodest, imperious and malicious*; that *doat upon Trifles, and run fiercely in the Ways of a Sect*, that are *lifted up in the Apprehension of the glorious Prerogatives of themselves and their Party*, and scorn all the World besides: For such, I say, *be their Pretensions what they will, to divine Communion, Illapses, and Discoveries*, I believe them not; their *Fancies abuse them, or they would us*. For what Communion hath *Light* with *Darkness*, or the *Spirit of the HOLY ONE*, with those whose *Genius and Ways* are so unlike him? But the other *excellent Souls* I described will, as certainly, be visited by the *divine Presence*, and *Converse*, as the *chry-stalline Streams* are with the *Beams of Light*, or the fitly prepar'd *Earth*, whose *Seed* is in itself, will be actuated by the *Spirit of Nature*.

So that there is no Reason to object here the Want of *angelical Communications*, though there were none vouchsafed us, since good Men enjoy the *Divine*, which are infinitely more *satisfactory and endearing*.

AND now I may have Leave to proceed to the next *Objection*, which may be made to speak thus :

S E C T. XIV. *Obj. 12.*

The Belief of Witches, and the wonderful Things they are said to perform, by the Help of the Confederate Dæmon, weakens our Faith, and exposeth the World to Infidelity, in the great Matters of our Religion. For, if they, by diabolical Assistance, can inflict and cure Diseases, and do Things so much beyond the Comprehension of our Philosophy, and Activity of common Nature; what Assurance can we have, that the Miracles, that confirm our Gospel, were not the Effects of a Compact, or like Nature; and, that Devils were not cast out by Beelzebub? If evil Spirits can assume Bodies, and render themselves visible in human Likeness: What Security can we have of the Reality of the Resurrection of Christ? And if, by their Help, Witches can enter Chambers invisibly through Key-holes and little unperceived Crannies, and transform themselves at Pleasure: What Arguments of Divinity are there in our Saviour's shewing himself in the Midst of his Disciples, when the Doors were shut, and his Transfiguration
in

in the Mount? Miracles are the great Inducement of Belief; and how shall we distinguish a Miracle from a lying Wonder; a Testimony from Heaven from a Trick of the Angels of Hell, if they can perform Things that astonish and confound our Reasons, and are beyond all the Possibilities of human Nature? This Objection is spiteful and mischievous; but I thus endeavour to dispatch it.

(1.) **T**HE Wonders, done by *Confederacy with wicked Spirits*, cannot derive a Suspicion upon the undoubted *Miracles*, that were wrought by the Author and Promulgers of our Religion, as if *they* were perform'd by *diabolical Compact*, since their *Spirit, Endeavours and Designs*, were notoriously contrary to all the *Tendencies, Aims, and Interests* of the *Kingdoms of Darknes*. For, as to the *Life and Temper* of the blessed and adorable *JESUS*, we know there was an incomparable *Sweetness* in his *Nature*, *Humility* in his *Manners*, *Calmness* in his *Temper*, *Compassion* in his *Miracles*, *Modesty* in his *Expressions*, *Holyness* in all his *Actions*, *Hatred of Vice and Baseness*, and *Love to all the World*; all which are essentially contrary to the *Nature and Constitution of Apostate Spirits*, who abound in *Pride and Rancour*, *Insolence and Rudeness*, *Tyranny and Baseness*, universal *Malice and Hatred of Men*. And their *Designs* are as opposite, as their *Spirit and Genius*. And now, can the *Sun* borrow its *Light* from the *bottomless Abyss*? Can *Heat and Warmth* flow in upon a *World* from the *Regions of Snow and Ice*? Can *Fire* freeze and *Water* burn? Can *Natures*, so infinitely contrary, *communicate*, and jump in *Projects* that are *destructive* to each other's *known Interests*? Is there any *Balsam* in the *Cockatrice's Egg*? Or, can the *Spirit of Life* flow from the *Venom* of the *Asp*? Will the *Prince of Darknes* strengthen the *Arm*, that is *stretch'd out* to pluck his *usurp'd Scepter*, and his *Spoils* from him? And will he lend his *Legions* to assist the *Armies* of his *Enemy* against him? No, these are impossible *Supposals*; no intelligent Being will, industriously and knowingly, contribute to the *Contradiction* of its own *Principles*, the *Defeat* of its *Purposes*, and the *Ruin* of its own dearest *Interests*. There is no Fear then that our *Faith* should receive *Prejudice* from the *Acknowledgment* of the *Being of Witches*, and *Power of evil Spirits*,

rits, since 'tis not the doing *wonderful Things*, that is the only *Evidence* that the *Holy Jesus* was from God, and his *Doctrine true*; but the *Conjunction* of other Circumstances, the *Holiness* of his *Life*, the *Reasonableness* of his *Religion*, and the *Excellency* of his *Designs*, added Credit to his Works, and strengthened the great *Conclusion*, *That he could be no other than the Son of God, and Saviour of the World*. But besides, I say,

(2.) THAT since *infinite Wisdom* and *Goodness* rules the World, it cannot be conceiv'd, that they should give up the greatest Part of Men to unavoidable Deception. And if evil *Angels*, by their *Confederates*, are permitted to perform such astonishing Things, as seem so evidently to carry *God's Seal* and *Power* with them, for the Confirmation of *Falshoods*, and gaining Credit to *Impostures*, without any Counter-Evidence to disabuse the World; Mankind is exposed to sad and fatal Delusions. And, to say that *Providence* will suffer us to be deceived in Things of the greatest Concernment, when we use the best of our Care and Endeavours to prevent it, is to speak hard Things of *God*; and, in Effect, to affirm, That he hath nothing to do in the Government of the World, or doth not concern himself in the Affairs of poor forlorn Men. And if the *Providence* and *Goodness* of *God* be not a Security unto us against such Deceptions, we cannot be assured, but that we are always abused by those mischievous *Agents*, in the *Objects* of plain *Sense*, and in all the Matters of our daily Converses. If *ONE* that pretends he is immediately sent from *God*, to overthrow the antient *Fabrick* of established *Worship*, and to erect a new *Religion* in his Name, shall be born of a *Virgin*, and honour'd by a *miraculous Star*; proclaimed by a Song of seeming *Angels* of *Light*, and worshipp'd by the wise *Sages* of the World; reverenc'd by those of the greatest *Austerity*, and admir'd by all for a *miraculous Wisdom*, beyond his Education in his Years: If he shall feed Multitudes with almost nothing, and fast himself beyond all the Possibilities of *Nature*: If he shall be transform'd into the Appearance of extraordinary *Glory*, and converse with departed *Prophets* in their *visible Forms*. If he shall cure all *Diseases* without *Physick* or *Endeavour*, and raise the *Dead* to *Life*, after they have stunk in their *Graves*: If he shall be honoured by *Voices* from *Heaven*, and attract the universal Wonder of *Princes* and *People*:
If

If he shall allay *Tempests* with a *Beck*, and cast out *Devils* with a Word: If he shall foretel his own Death particularly, with its tragical *Circumstances*, and his *Resurrection* after it: If the *Veil* of the most famous *Temple* in the World shall be rent, and the *Sun* darkened at his *Funeral*: If he shall, within the Time foretold, break the Bonds of Death, and lift up his Head out of the Grave: If *Multitudes* of other departed *Souls* shall arise with him, to attend at the Solemnity of his Resurrection: If he shall, after *Death*, visibly converse, and eat and drink with divers Persons, who could not be deceived in a Matter of clear Sense, and ascend in Glory, in the Presence of an astonish'd and admiring Multitude: I say, if such a one as this should prove a diabolical *Impostor*, and Providence should permit him to be so credited and acknowledged, what Possibility were there then, for us to be assured, that we are not always deceived? Yea, that our very Faculties were not given us only to delude and abuse us? and, if so, the next Conclusion is, *That there is no God that judgeth on the Earth*; and the best, and most likely, *Hypothesis* will be, *That the World is given up to the Government of the Devil*. But if there be a Providence that superviseth us, (as nothing is more certain) doubtless it will never suffer poor helpless Creatures to be inevitably deceiv'd by the Craft and Subtlety of their mischievous Enemy, to their undoing; but will, without Question, take such Care, that the Works wrought by divine Power, for the Confirmation of divine Truth, shall have such visible *Marks* and *Signatures*, if not in their Nature, yet in their Circumstances, *Ends* and *Designs*, as shall discover whence they are, and sufficiently distinguish them from all *Impostures* and *Delusions*. And though wicked Spirits may perform some strange Things that may excite Wonder for a while, yet he hath, and will so provide, that they shall be baffled and discredited; as we know it was in the Case of *Moses*, and the *Egyptian* Magicians.

THESE Things I count sufficient to be said to this last and shrewdest Objection; though some, I understand, except, that I have made it stronger than the Answer I have applied. That I have urged the *Argument* of *Unbelievers* home, and represented it in its full Strength, I suppose, can be no Matter of just *Reproof*: For to triumph over the Weakness of a Cause, and to overlook its Strength, is the Trick of shallow and interested Disputers, and the worst

Way to defend a good Cause, or confute a *bad* one. I have therefore, all along, urg'd the most *cogent* Things I could think of, for the Interest of the *Objectors*, because I would not impose upon my *Reader*, or *myself*; and the stronger I make their Premises, the more shall I weaken their Conclusion if I answer them; which whether I have done or not, I refer myself to the Judgments of the Ingenious and Considerate; from whom I should be very glad to be inform'd, in what particular Points my Discourse is defective. *General Charges* are no *Proofs*, nor are they easily capable of an Answer. Yet, to the mention'd Exception, I say,

THAT the Strength of the Objection is not my *Fault*, for the Reasons alledg'd; and, for the supposed Incompetency of my Return, I propose, that if the Circumstances of the *Persons*, *Ends* and *Issues*, be the best Notes of Distinction between true Miracles and *Forgeries*, *divine* and *diabolical* Ones, I have then said enough to secure the Miracles of our Saviour, and the *holy* Men of antient Times. But if these *Objectors* think they can give us any better, or more infallible *Criteria*, I desire them to weigh what I have offer'd about *Miracles* in some of the following Leaves, before they enter that *Thought* among their Certainties. And, if their other *Marks* of *Difference* will hold, notwithstanding those *Allegations*, I suppose the inquisitive believing World would be glad to know them; and I shall have particular Obligations to the Discoverer, for the Strength with which he will thereby assist my Answer.

BUT, till I see that, I can say nothing stronger; or, if I saw it, which I shall not in Haste expect, I should not be convinc'd, but that the Circumstances of Difference, which I have noted, are abundantly sufficient to disarm the *Objection*; and to shew, that though *Apparitions*, *Witchcraft*, and *diabolical Wonders*, are admitted, yet none of these can fasten any *Slur*, or Ground of dangerous Doubt, upon the miraculous Performances of the *holy* JESUS and his *Apostles*. If the Dissatisfied can shew it, I shall yield myself an humble *Profelyte* to their Reasons; but, till I know them, the general Suggestion will not convince me.

NOW, besides what I have directly said to the main *Objection*, I have this to add to the *Objectors*, that I could wish they would take Care of such *Suggestions*; which, if they

they overthrow not the Opinion they oppose, will dangerously affront the Religion they would seem to acknowledge. For he that saith, *That, if there are WITCHES, there is no Way to prove, that Christ Jesus was not a Magician and diabolical Impostor*, puts a deadly Weapon into the Hands of the *Infidel*, and is, himself, next Door to the *SIN AGAINST THE HOLY GHOST*; of which, in order to the persuading greater *Tenderness* and *Caution* in such Matters, I give this short Account.

S E C T. XV.

THE Sin against the *Holy Ghost* is said to be *unpardonable*: By which sad Attribute, and the Discourse of our Saviour, *Mat. xij. from the 22d to the 23d Verse*, we may understand its Nature. In order to which, we consider, that since the *Mercies* of God, and the Merits of his Son, are infinite, there is nothing can make a Sin *unpardonable*, but what makes it incurable; and there is no Sin, but what is curable by a strong *Faith*, and vigorous *Endeavour*: For all Things are possible to him that believeth. So that that, which makes a Sin incurable, must be somewhat that makes *Faith* impossible, and obstructs all Means of Conviction. In order to the finding which, we must consider the Ways and Methods the divine Goodness hath taken for the begetting *Faith*, and Cure of *Infidelity*; which it attempted, first, by the Prophets and holy Men of antient Times; who, by the Excellency of their *Doctrine*, the Greatness of their *Miracles*, and the Holiness of their *Lives*, endeavoured the Conviction, and Reformation, of a stubborn and unbelieving World. But though few believ'd their Report, and Men would not be prevail'd on, by what they did, or what they said; yet their Infidelity was not hitherto incurable, because further Means were provided, in the Ministry of *John the Baptist*, whose Life was more severe, whose Doctrines were more plain, pressing and particular; and therefore, 'twas possible, that he might have succeeded. Yea, and where he fail'd, and could not open Mens Hearts and their Eyes, the Effect was still in Possibility, and it might be expected from him that came after, to whom the Prophets and *John* were but the *Twilight* and the *Dawn*. And, tho' his miraculous Birth, the Song of Angels, the Journey of the wise Men of the East, and

and the *Correspondence of Prophecies*, with the *Circumstances of the first Appearance of the wonderful Infant* : I say, tho' these had not been taken Notice of, yet was there a farther Provision made for the *Cure of Infidelity*, in his *astonishing Wisdom*, and most *excellent Doctrines* ; for, *he spake as never Man did*. And when these were despised and neglected, yet there were other Means towards *Conviction*, and *Cure of Unbelief*, in those mighty *Works* that bore Testimony of *him*, and wore the evident Marks of *divine Power* in their Foreheads. But, when after all, these *clear and unquestionable Miracles*, which were wrought by the *Spirit of God*, and had eminently his *Superscription* on them, shall be ascribed to the *Agency of evil Spirits* and *diabolical Compact*, as they were by the *malicious and spiteful Pharisees*, in the *Periods* abovemention'd ; when those great and last *Testimonies*, against *Infidelity*, shall be said to be but the *Tricks of Sorcery*, and *Complotment with hellish Confederates* ; this is *Blasphemy* in the highest, against the *Power and Spirit of God*, and such as *cuts off all Means of Conviction*, and puts the Unbelievers beyond all *Possibilities of Cure*. For *Miracles* are *God's Seal*, and the great and last Evidence of the Truth of any *Doctrine*. And though, while these are only dis-believed, as to the *Fact*, there remains a Possibility of *Persuasion* ; yet, when the *Fact* shall be acknowledged, but the *Power blasphemed*, and the Effects of the adorable *Spirit maliciously imputed to the Devils* ; such a *Blasphemy*, such an *Infidelity*, is *incurable*, and consequently *unpardonable*. I say, in some, one Sin against the Holy Ghost seems to be a *malicious Imputation of the Miracles wrought by the Spirit of God in our Saviour*, to *satanical Confederacy*, and the *Power of apostate Spirits* ; than which nothing is more *blasphemous*, and nothing is more like to provoke the *holy Spirit* that is so abused, to an *eternal Dejection* of so *vile* and so *incurable* an Unbeliever.

THIS Account, as 'tis clear and reasonable in itself, so it is plainly lodg'd in the mention'd Discourse of our Saviour. And most of those, that speak other Things about it, seem to me to talk at random, and perfectly without Book. But to leave them to the Fondness of their own Conceits, I think it now Time to draw up to a Conclusion of the Whole.

S E C T. XVI.

T H E R E F O R E briefly, Sir, I have endeavoured in these Papers, which my Respect, and your Concernment in the Subject, have made *yours*, to remove the main Prejudices I could think of, against the Existence of *Witches* and *Apparitions*. And, I'm sure, I have suggested much more against what I defend, than ever I heard, or saw, in any that opposed it ; whose Discourses, for the most Part, have seem'd to me inspired, by a *lofty Scorn of common Belief*, and some *trivial Notions of vulgar Philosophy*. And, in despising the *common Faith*, about Matters of *Fact*, and fondly adhering to it in Things of *Speculation*, they very grossly and absurdly mistake ; for, in Things of *Fact*, the *People* are as much to be believ'd, as the most *subtle Philosophers* and *Speculators* ; since here, *Sense* is the Judge, but, in Matters of *Notion* and *Theory*, they are not at all to be heeded, because *Reason* is to be Judge of these, and this they know not how to use. And yet thus it is with those *wise Philosophers*, that will deny the *plain Evidence* of the *Senses* of Mankind, because they cannot reconcile *Appearances*, with the fond Crochets of a Philosophy, which they lighted on in the *High-way by Chance*, and will adhere to at a *Venture*. So that I profess, for mine own Part, I never yet heard any of the confident Declaimers, against *Witchcraft* and *Apparitions*, speak any Thing that might move a Mind, in any Degree instructed in the generous Kinds of *Philosophy* and *Nature of Things*. And for the *Objections* I have recited, they are most of them such as rose out of mine own Thoughts, by which I was obliged to consider what was possible to be said upon this *Occasion*.

F O R, though I have examin'd S C O T'S D I S C O V E R Y, fancying, that there I should find the *strong Reasons* of Mens *Disbelief* in this Matter ; yet, I profess, I met not with the least Suggestion in all that *Farrago*, but what had been ridiculous for me to have gone about to *answer* ; for the Author doth *little* but tell *odd Tales*, and *silly Legends*, which he confutes and laughs at, and pretends this to be a *Confutation* of the Being of *Witches* and *Apparitions* ; in all which, his *Reasonings* are *trifling* and *childish* ; and, when he ventures at *Philosophy*, he is little better than *absurd* ;

surd; so that it will be a Wonder to me, if any, but *Boys* and *Buffoons*, imbibe any *Prejudices* against a Belief so infinitely confirm'd, from the *loose* and *impotent* *Suggestions* of so weak a Discourser.

BUT, however, observing two Things in that *Discourse*, that would pretend to be more than ordinary *Reasons*, I shall do them the *Civility* to examine them. *It is said then,*

(1.) *That the Gospel is silent, as to the Being of WITCHES; and 'tis not likely, if there were such, but that our Saviour, or his Apostles, had given Intimations of their Existence.*

The other is,

(2.) *Miracles are ceased, and therefore the prodigious Things, ascribed to Witchcraft, are supposed Dreams and Impostures.*

FOR Answer to the First, in Order, I consider (1.) That tho' the *History* of the *new Testament* were granted to be silent, in the Business of *Witches* and *Compacts*, yet the *Records* of the *Old* have a frequent Mention of them. The *Law*, *Exod. xxij. 18.* against permitting *them* to live, (which I mention'd in the Beginning) is famous. And we have another remarkable *Prohibition* of *them*, *Deut. xvij. 10, 11.* *There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his Son or his Daughter pass through the Fire, or that useth Divination, or an Observer of Times, or an Enchanter, or a Witch, or a Charmer, or a Consulter with familiar Spirits, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer.* Now this Accumulation of Names (some of which are of the same Sense and Import) is a plain Indication, that the *Hebrew Witch* was one that practised, by *Compact*, with *evil Spirits*. And many of the same Expressions are put together in the Charge against *Manasses*, 2 *Chron. xxxij. viz. That he caused his Children to pass through the Fire, observed Times, used Enchantments and Witchcraft, and dealt with familiar Spirits, and with Wizards.* So, that tho' the original Word, which we render *Witch* and *Witchcraft*, should, as our *Sadducees* urge, signify only a *Cheat* and a *Poisoner*; yet those others, mention'd, plainly enough speak the Thing; and, I have given an Account in the former *Considerations*, how a *Witch*, in the common Notion, is a *Poisoner*; but why meer *Poisoning* should have a distinct

distinct Law against it, and not be concluded under the general one against *Murder*; why meer *Legerdemain* and *Cheating* should be so severely animadverted on, as to be reckon'd with *Enchantments*, *Converse* with *Devils*, and *idolatrous Practices*: I believe the *Denier of Witches* will find it hard to give a Reason; to which I may add some other Passages of Scripture that yield sufficient Evidence in the Case. The Nations are forbid to hearken to the *Diviners*, *Dreamers*, *Enchanters*, and *Sorcerers*, Jer. xxvij. 9. The *Chaldeans* are deeply threatened for their *Sorceries* and *Enchantments*, Isa. xlvij. 9. and we read that *Nebuchadnezzar* called the *Magicians*, *Astrologers*, *Sorcerers*, and *Chaldeans*, to tell his *Dream*. My Mention of which last minds me to say, that, for ought I have to the contrary, there may be a Sort of *Witches* and *Magicians*, that have no *Familiars* that they know, nor any express Compact with *apostate Spirits*; who yet may, perhaps, act strange Things by *diabolical Aids*, which they procure by the Use of those *Forms*, and wicked *Arts*, that the *Devil* did first impart to his *Confederates*; and we know not, but the Laws of that *dark Kingdom* may enjoin a particular Attendance upon all those that practise their *Mysteries*, whether they know them to be theirs or not, for a great Interest of their *Empire* may be serv'd by this Project; since those, that find such Success, in the *unknown Conjurations*, may, by that, be toll'd on to more express *Transactions* with those *Fiends*, that have assisted them *incognito*; or, if they proceed not so far, yet they run upon a *Rock* by acting in the *Dark*, and dealing in *unknown* and *unwarranted Arts*, in which the *Effect* is much beyond the *proper Efficiency* of the Thing they use, and affords Ground of more than Suspicion, that some *evil Spirit* is the *Agent* in those wondrous Performances.

UPON this Account, I say, it is not to me unlikely, but that the *Devils* may, by their own *Constitution*, be bound to attend upon all that use their *Ceremonies* and *Forms*, tho' ignorantly and without *Design* of Evil; and so *Conjuration* may have been perform'd, by those who are none of the *Covenant-Sorcerers* and *Witches*. Among those, perhaps, we may justly reckon *Balaam*, and the *Diviners*. For *Balaam*, *Monceus* hath undertaken to clear him from the *Guilt* of the greater *Sorcery*. And the *Diviners* are usually distinctly mention'd from those that had *familiar*

Spirits. The *Astrologers* also of *elder Times*, and those of *ours*, I take to have been of this Sort of *Magicians*; and *some* of them, under the Colour of that *mystical Science*, *worse*. And I question not, but that Things are really done, and foretold, by those *pretended Artists*, that are much beyond the *regular Possibilities* of their *Art*; which, in this, appears to be exceedingly *uncertain* and *precarious*, in that there are no less than *six Ways* of erecting a *Scheme*; in each of which, the *Prediction* of *Events* shall be *different*; and yet every one of them be justifiable by the *Rules* of that *Science*. And the *Principles*, they go upon, are found to be very *arbitrary* and *unphilosophical*, not by the *ordinary Declaimers* against it, but by the most *profound Inquirers* into Things, who perfectly *understand* the whole *Mystery*, and are the only *competent Judges*.

Now those *mystical Students* may, in their first *Addresses* to this *Science*, have no other *Design* but the *Satisfaction* of their *Curiosity* to know *remote* and *hidden Things*; yet *that*, in the *Progress*, being not satisfied within the *Bounds* of their *Art*, doth many *Times* tempt the *curious Inquirer* to use *worse Means* of *Information*; and, no doubt, those *mischievous Spirits* that are as vigilant as the *Beasts of Prey*, and watch all *Occasions* to get us within their *envious Reach*, are more constant *Attend*ers, and careful *Spies*, upon the *Actions* and *Inclinations* of such, whose *Genius* and *Designs* prepare them for their *Temptations*. So that I look on *judicial Astrology*, as a fair *Introduction* to *Sorcery* and *Witchcraft*; and who knows, but that it was first set on *Foot* by the *infernal Hunters*, as a *Lure* to draw the *Curioso's* into those *Snares* that lie hid beyond it; and yet I believe also, it may be *innocently* enough studied by those, that aim only to understand *what it is*, and *how far it will honestly go*, and are not willing to condemn any Thing which they do not comprehend; but that they must take *Care* to keep themselves within the *Bounds* of sober *Enquiry*, and not indulge *irregular Sollicitudes* about the *Knowledge* of Things, which *Providence* hath thought fit to *conceal* from us; which whoever doth, lays himself open to the *Designs* and *Sollicitations* of *evil Spirits*; and, I believe, there are very few among those who have been addicted to those *strange Arts of Wonder*, and *Prediction*; but have found themselves attacked by some *unknown Sollicitors*, and inticed by them, to the more dan-

gerous *Actions* and *Correspondencies* ; for as there are a Sort of *base* and *sordid Spirits*, that attend the *Envy* and *Malice* of the *ignorant* and *viler* Sort of Persons, and betray them into *Compacts*, by *Promises* of *Revenge* ; so, no Doubt, there are a Kind of more *airy* and *speculative Fiends*, of an *higher Rank* and *Order*, than those *wretched Imps*, who apply themselves to the *Curious*, and many Times prevail with them by *Offers* of the more *recondite Knowledge*, as we know it was in the *first Temptation* ; yea, and sometimes they are so *cautious* and *wary* in their *Conversations*, with more *refined* Persons, that they never offer to make any *express Covenants* with them ; and, to this Purpose, I have been inform'd, by a very learned and reverend Doctor, that one Mr. *Edwards*, a Master of Arts of *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, being reclaim'd from *Conjururation*, declar'd in his *Repentance*, that the *Demon* always appear'd to him like a Man of good Fashion, and never requir'd any *Compact* from him ; and, no Doubt, they fort themselves agreeably to the *State*, *Port*, and *Genius* of those with whom they *converse* ; yea, 'tis like, as I conjectur'd, are *assistant* sometimes to those, to whom they dare not shew themselves in any *Openness* of *Appearance*, lest they should fright them from those Ways of *Sin* and *Temptation* ; so that we see, that Men may act by *evil Spirits*, without their own Knowledge that they do so.

AND, possibly, *Nebuchadnezzar's* wise Men might be of this Sort of *Magicians* ; which Supposal I mention the rather, because it may serve me against some Things that may be objected : For it may be said, If they had been in *Confederacy* with *Devils*, it is not probable that *Daniel* would have been their *Advocate*, or, in such *inoffensive Terms*, have distinguish'd their *Skill* from *divine Revelation* ; nor should he, one would think, have accepted the Office of being *Provost* over them. These Circumstances may be supposed to intimate a Probability, that the *Magi* of *Babylon* were in no *profess'd diabolical Complotment*, and I grant it. But yet they might, and, in all Likelihood, did use the *Arts* and *Methods* of *Action*, which obtain *Demoniack Co-operation* and *Assistance*, though without their *Privity* ; and so they were a less criminal Sort of *Conjurers*, for those *Arts* were convey'd down along to them from one Hand to another, and the Successors still took them up from those that preceded, without a *philosophical*

Scrutiny or *Examen*. They saw strange Things were done, and Events predicted by such *Forms*, and such *Words*; How, they could not tell, nor, 'tislike, did not enquire; but contented themselves with this general Account, That 'twas by the *Power* of their *Arts*, and were not *sollicitous* for any other Reason. This, I say, was probably the Case of most of *those Predictors*, though, it may be, others of them advanced further into the more desperate Part of the *Mystery*. And that some did immediately *transact* with appearing evil Spirits, in those Times, is apparent enough from express Mention in the *Scriptures* I have alledg'd.

AND the Story of the *WITCH* of *ENDOR*, 1 Sam. xxviii. is a remarkable *Demonstration* of the main Conclusion; which will appear, when we have considered and removed the *Fancy*, and *Glosses* of our *Author* about it, in his *DISCOVERY*; where to avoid this Evidence he affirms, *This WITCH* to be but a *Cozener*, and the whole Transaction a *Cheat* and *Imposture*, manag'd by herself and a *Confederate*. And, in order to the persuading this, he tells a fine *Tale*, viz. That she departed from *Saul* into her Closet, "where doubtless, says he, she had a *Familiar*, some *lewd crafty Priest*, and made *Saul* stand at the Door like a *Fool*, to hear the *cozening* Answers. He saith, she there used the ordinary Words of *Conjurati-on*; and after them *Samuel* appears, whom he affirms to be no other than either the *Witch* her self, or her *Confederate*". By this pretty *Knack* and *Contrivance*, he thinks he hath disabled the *Relation* from signifying to our Purpose.

BUT the *DISCOVERER* might have considered, that all this is an *Invention*, and without *Book*. For there is no Mention of the *Witch's Closet*, or her retiring into another Room, or her *Confederate*, or her *Form of Conjurati-on*: I say, nothing of all this is as much as intimated in the *History*; and if we may take this *large Liberty* in the *Interpretation* of *Scripture*, there is scarce a *Story* in the *Bible*, but may be made a *Fallacy*, an *Imposture*, or any Thing we please. Nor is this *Fancy* of his only *arbitrary*, but indeed contrary to the *Circumstances* of the *Text*. For it says, *Saul perceived it was Samuel*, and bowed himself, and this *Samuel* truly foretold his approaching Fate, viz. That *Israel* should be delivered with him

into the Hands of the *Philistians*; and that on the *Morrow* *He* and his *Sons* should be in the State of the *Dead*, which, doubtless, is meant, by the Expression, that [*they should be with him.*] Which contingent Particulars, how could the *Cozener* and her *Confederate* foretel, if there were nothing in it *extraordinary* and *preternatural*.

It hath, indeed, been a great Dispute amongst *Interpreters*, whether the real *Samuel* was raised, or the *Devil* in his Likeness? Most later Writers suppose it to have been an *evil Spirit*, upon the Supposition that good and happy Souls can never return hither from their *Cœlestial* Abodes; and they are not certainly at the Beck and Call of an impious *Hag*. But then those of the other Side urge, that the *Piety* of the Words that were spoke, and the *seasonable Reproof* given to *despairing* Saul, are *Indications* sufficient that they come not from *Hell*; and especially they think the *Prophecy of Circumstances* very *accidental* to be an Argument, that it was not utter'd by any of the *infernal Predictors*. And for the Supposal, that is the Ground of that *Interpretation*, 'tis judg'd exceedingly *precarious*; for who saith, that happy departed Souls were never employed in any *Ministries* here below? And those *Dissenters* are ready to ask a Reason, why they may not be sent in Messages to *Earth*, as well as those of the *Angelical* Order? They are nearer *allied* to our *Natures* and, upon that Account, more *intimately concern'd* in our Affairs; and the Example of returning *Lazarus*, is Evidence of the Thing *de facto*. Besides which, that it was the real *Samuel* they think made probable by the Opinion of *Jesus* the Son of *Syrach*, Eccles. xlv. 19, 20. who saith of him, That after his *Death* he *propheesied* and *showed the King his End*: Which also is likely from the Circumstance of the Woman's *Astonishment*, and *Crying out*, when she saw him, intimating her *Surprize*, in that the Power of God had over-ruled her *Enchantments*, and sent another than she expected. And they conceive, there is no more *Incongruity* in supposing God should send *Samuel* to rebuke *Saul* for this his last Folly, and to predict his instant *Ruin*, than in his interposing *Elias* to the Messengers of *Ahazias*, when he sent to *Beelzebub*. Now if it were the real *Samuel*, as the *Letter* expresseth, (and the obvious Sense is to be followed, when there is no cogent Reason to decline it) he was not raised by the Power of the *Witche's Enchantments*,

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ekantments, but came, on that Occasion, on a *Divine Errand*. But yet *attempts* and *endeavours* to raise her *Familiar Spirit*, (though, at that Time, over-ruled) are Arguments that it hath been her Custom to do so. Or if it were, as the other Side concludes, the *Devil* in the Shape of *Samuel*, her diabolical *Confederacy* is yet more *palpable*.

S E C T. XVII.

I HAVE now done with *SCOT* and his *Presumptions*; and am apt to fancy, that there is nothing more needful to be said to discover the *Discoverer*. But there is an *Author* infinitely more valuable, that calls me to consider him; 'tis the great *Episcopus*, who, though he grants a Sort of *Witches* and *Magicians*, yet denies *Compacts*. His *Authority*, I confess, is *considerable*, but let us weigh his *Reasons*.

HIS *First* is, That there is no *Example* of any of the *prophane Nations*, that were in such *Compact*; whence he would infer, that there are no *express Covenants* with *evil Spirits* in *particular Instances*. But I think, that both *Proposition* and *Consequence* are very *obnoxious* and *defective*. For that there were *Nations*, that did actually *worship the Devil*, is plain enough in the Records of *ancient Times*, and some read that Place in the *Psalms*, *The Gods of the Heathen are Devils*; and *Satan*, we know, is called the *God of this World*. Yea, our Author himself confesseth, that the Nation of the *Jews* were so strictly prohibited *Witchcraft*, and all *Transaction* with *evil Spirits*; because of their *Proneness* to *worship* them. But what need more? There are at this Day that pay *Sacrifice*, and all *sacred Homage*, to the wicked One in a visible Appearance; and 'tis well known, to those of our own that *traffic*, and reside in those Parts, that the *Caribbians* worship the *Devil* under the Name of *Maboya*, who frequently shews himself, and transacts with them; the like Travellers relate concerning divers other Parts of the *barbarous Indies*: And 'tis confidently reported by sober intelligent Men, that have visited those Places, that most of the *Laplanders*, and some other *Northern People* are *Witches*. That 'tis plain, that there are *National Confederacies with Devils*; or if there were none, I see not how it could be
inferred

inferred *thence*, that there are no *personal* Ones, no more, than that there were never any *Demoniacks*, because we know of no *Nation universally possessed*; nor any *Lunatics* in the World, because there is no *Country of Mad-men*. But our *Author* reasons again.

(2.) To this Purpose; *That the profligate Persons, who are obnoxious to those gross Temptations, are fast enough before; and therefore such a Covenant were needless, and of no Avail to the Tempters Projects.*

THIS Objection I have answered already, in my Remarks upon the IXth Prejudice; and mind you again here, that if the *Designs* of those evil *Spirits* were only, in general, to secure wicked Men to the *dark Kingdom*, it might better be pretended, that we cannot give a Reason for their *Temptations*, and *Endeavours* in this Kind; but it being likely, as I have conjectur'd, that each of those *infernal Tempters* hath a particular Property in those he hath *seduced* and secured by such *Compacts*, their *respective* Pride, and tyrannical Desire of *Slaves*, may reasonably be thought to engage them in such *Attempts*, in which their so peculiar Interest is concern'd.

BUT I add what is more direct; *viz.* That such desperate Sinners are made more safe to the *infernal Kingdom* at large, by such *hellish Covenants* and *Combinations*: Since thereby they confirm, and harden their *Hearts* against God, and put themselves at a greater Distance from his *Grace*, and his *Spirit*; give the deepest Wound to Conscience, and resolve to wink against all its *Light* and *Convictions*; throw a *Bar* in the Way of their own *Repentance*, and lay a *Train* for Despair of Mercy. These, certainly, are sure Ways of being undone, and the *Devil*, we see, hath great Interest in a *Project*, the Success of which is so *attended*. And we know he made the Assault *de facto* upon our *Saviour*, when he tempted him to *fall down* and *worship*. So that this learned Author hath but little Reason to object.

(3.) THAT to endeavour such an express *Covenant* is contrary to the *Interests of Hell*; which, indeed, are this Way so mightily promoted. And whereas he suggests, that a Thing so horrid is like to *startle Conscience*, and awaken the *Soul* to *Consideration* and *Repentance*: I reply, That, indeed, considering *Man*, in the general, as a *rational Creature*, acted by *Hopes* and *Fears*, and *sensible* of the *Joys* and *Miseries* of another *World*, one would expect it should be so:

But then, if we cast our Eyes upon *Man*, as really he is, sunk into *Flesh* and present *Sense*; darkened in his *Mind*, and govern'd by his *Imagination*; blinded by his *Passions*, and besotted by *Sin* and *Folly*; harden'd by evil *Customs*, and hurried away by the Torrent of his *Inclination* and *Desires*: I say, looking on *Man* in this miserable State of *Evil*, 'tis not incredible that he should be prevail'd upon, by the *Tempter*, and his own *Lusts*, to act at a wonderful Rate of *Madness*, and continue unconcerned and stupid in it; intent upon his present *Satisfactions*, without *Sense* or *Consideration* of the Dreadfulness and Danger of his Condition; and by this I am furnish'd also to meet a fourth Objection of our *Author's*, viz.

(4.) THAT 'tis not probable upon the *Witches* Part, that they will be so desperate to renounce *God* and eternal *Happiness*, and so everlastingly undo their *Bodies* and *Souls*, for a short and trivial *Interest*; which Way of arguing will only infer, that *Mankind* acts sometimes to prodigious Degrees of *Brutishness*; and actually we see it in the Instances of every Day.

THERE is not a *Lust* so base, and so contemptible, but there are those continually in our Eyes, that feed it with the Sacrifice of their *Eternity*, and their *Souls*; and daring Sinners rush upon the blackest Villanies with so little Remorse, or *Sense*, as if it were their Design to prove, that they have nothing left them of that whereby they are Men. So that nought can be inferred from this Argument, but that *humane Nature* is incredibly degenerate; and the Vileness and Stupidity of Men is really so great, that Things are customary and common, which one could not think possible, if he did not hourly see them. And if Men of liberal Education, and acute Reason, that know their *Duty* and their *Danger*, are driven by their Appetites, with their Eyes open, upon the most fatal Recks, and make all the Haste they can from their *God* and their *Happiness*; if such can barter their *Souls* for *Trifles*, and sell *Everlastingness* for a *Moment*; sport upon the Brink of a *Precipice*, and contemn all the Terrors of the future dreadful Day; Why should it then be incredible, that a brutish, vile Person, sotted with *Ignorance*, and drunk with *Malice*, mindless of *God*, and unconcern'd about a future Being, should be persuaded to accept of present,

present, delightful Gratifications, without duly weighing the desperate Condition?

Thus, I suppose, I have answered also the *Arguments* of this great Man, against the Covenants of Witches; and since a Person, of such Sagacity and Learning, hath no more to say against what I defend, and another of the same Character, the ingenious Mr. S. Parker, who directed me to him, reckons these the strongest Things that can be objected in the Case, I begin to arrive to an higher Degree of Confidence in this Belief; and am almost inclined to fancy that there is little more to be said to Purpose, which may not, by the Improvement of my CONSIDERATIONS, be easily answered; and I am yet more fortified in my Conceit, because I have, since the former Edition of this Book, sent to several acute and ingenious Persons of my Acquaintance, to beg their Objections, or those they have heard from others, against my Discourse, or Relations, that I might consider them in this: But I can procure none save only those few I have now discuss'd, most of my Friends telling me, that they have not met with any that need, or deserve, my Notice.

S E C T. XIX.

BY all this it is evident, that there were WITCHES in ancient Times under the Dispensation of the LAW; and that there were such, in the Times of the GOSPEL also, will not be much more difficult to make good. I had a late Occasion to say something about this, in a Letter to a Person of the highest Honour, from which I shall now borrow some Things to my present Purpose.

I SAY then, Secondly, That there were Compacts with evil Spirits in those Times also, is, methinks, intimated strongly in that Saying of the Jews concerning our Saviour, that he cast out Devils by Beelzebub; in his Return to which, he denies not the Supposition or Possibility of the Thing in general, but clears himself by an Appeal to the Actions of their own Children, whom they would not tax so severely: And I cannot very well understand, why those Times should be privileged from Witchcraft, and Diabolical Compacts, more than they were from Possessions, which we know were then more frequent (for ought appears to the

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the contrary) than ever they were before, or since. But besides this, there are Intimations plain enough, in the *Apostles* Writings, of the Beginning of *Sorcery* and *Witchcraft*. *St. Paul* reckons *Witchcraft* next *Idolatry*, in his Catalogue of the *Works* of the *Flesh*, Gal. v. 20. and the *Sorcerers* are again join'd with *Idolaters* in that sad *Denunciation*, Rev. xxi. 8. and a little after, Rev. xxii. 15. they are reckoned again among *Idolaters*, *Murderers*, and those others that are *without*. And, methinks, the Story of *Simon Magus*, and his *Diabolical Oppositions* of the *Gospel* in its *Beginnings*, should afford clear Conviction, to all which, I add this more general Consideration.

(3.) THAT though the *New Testament* had mention'd nothing of this Matter, yet its *Silence* in such Cases is not *argumentative*. Our Saviour *spoke* as he had Occasion, and the thousandth Part of what he *did*, and *said*, is not recorded, as one of his Historians intimates. He said nothing of those large unknown *Tracts* of *America*, nor gave he any Intimations of as much as the *Existence* of that numerous People; much less did he leave *Instructions* about their *Conversion*. He gives no Account of the *Affairs* and *State* of the *other World*, but only that general One of the *Happiness* of some, and the *Misery* of others. He made no Discovery of the *Magnalia* of *Art*, or *Nature*; no, not of those, whereby the *Propagation* of the *Gospel* might have been much advanced, viz. the *Mystery* of *Printing*, and the *Magnet*; and yet no one useth his *Silence* in these Instances, as an Argument against the Being of Things, which are *evident Objects* of *Sense*. I confess, the Omission of some of these *Particulars* is pretty strange and unaccountable, and concludes our *Ignorance* of the *Reasons*, and *Menages* of *Providence*; but I suppose, *nothing else*. I thought, I needed here to have said no more, but I consider, in consequence of this *Objection*, it is pretended; That as *Christ Jesus* drives the *Devil* from his *Temples*, and his *Altars* (as is clear in the *Cessation* of *Oracles*, which dwindled away, and at last grew silent shortly upon his Appearance) so in like manner, 'tis said, that he banish'd Him from his lesser Holds in *Sorcerers*, and *Witches*; which Argument is peccant both in what it affirms, and in what it would infer. For

(1.) THE Coming of the *Holy Jesus* did not expel the *Devil* from all the greater Places of his *Residence* and *Worship*;

Worship; for a considerable Part of *barbarous* Mankind do him *publick*, *solemn* Homage, to *this* Day: So that the very *Foundation* of the *Pretence* fails, and the *Consequence* without any more ado comes to nothing. And yet besides,

(2.) IF there be any *Credit* to be given to *Ecclesiastical* *History*, there were Persons possessed with *Devils* some Ages after *Christ*, whom the *Disciples* cast out by *Prayer*, and the *Invocation* of his *Name*: So that *Satan* was not driven from his *lesser* Habitations, as soon as he was forced from his more *famous* *Abodes*. And I see no Reason

(3.) *Why*, Though Divine Providence would not allow him *publickly* to abuse the *Nations*, whom he had designed a short Time after, for Subjects of his *Son's* *Kingdom*, and to stand up in the *Face* of *Religion* in an *open* Affront to the *Divinity* that *planted* it, to the great *Hindrance* of the Progress of the *Gospel*, and Discouragement of *Christian* Hopes; I say, Though Providence would not allow this Height of insolent Opposition; yet I see not why we may not grant, that God, however, permitted the Devil to *sneak* into some *private* skulking *Holes*, and to *trade* with *particular* more devoted *Vassals* of his *wicked* Empire: As we know that when our *Saviour* chased him from the Man that was *possessed*, he permitted his *Retreat* into the *Herd* of *Swine*. And I might add,

(4.) THAT 'tis but a *bad* Way of arguing, to set up *fancied* *Congruities* against *plain* *Experience*, as is evidently done by those *Arguers*, who, because they think that *Christ* chased the *Devil* from all his *high* *Places* of *Worship* when he came; that 'tis therefore *fit* he should have forced him from all his other less *notorious* *Haunts*: And upon the *Imagination* of a *Decency*, which they frame, *conclude* a *Fact*, contrary to the greatest Evidence of which the Thing is capable. And once more,

(5.) THE Consequence of this *imagined* *Decorum*, if it be pursued, would be *this*, that *Satan* should now be deprived of all the *Ways* and *Tricks* of *Cozenage*, whereby he abuseth us; and *Mankind*, since the Coming of *Christ*, should have been secure from all his *Temptations*; for there is a greater *Congruity* in believing, that, when he was forced from his *Haunts* in *Temples* and *publick* *Places*, he should be put also from those *nearer* ones, *about* us, and *within* us, in his daily *Temptations* of *universal* *Mankind*; than that, upon relinquishing *those*, he should be

be made to leave all profess'd *Communication* and *Correspondence* with those *profligate* Persons, whose *Vileness* had fitted them for such *Company*.

So that *these* Reasoners are very fair for the *Denial* of all *internal diabolical Temptations*. And because I durst not trust them, I'll crave your Leave here to add some Things concerning *those*.

IN order to which, that I may obtain the Favour of those wary Persons, who are so coy, and shy of their Assent, I grant ; That Men frequently, out of a Desire to excuse themselves, lay their own Guilt upon the Devil, and charge him with Things of which, in earnest, he is not guilty : For I doubt not but every wicked Man hath Devil enough in his own Nature to prompt him to Evil, and needs not another Tempter to incite him. But yet, that Satan endeavours to further our Wickedness, and our Ruin by his Enticements, and goes up and down seeking whom he may devour, is too evident in the holy Oracles, to need my Endeavours particularly to make it good ; Only those diffident Men cannot, perhaps, apprehend the Manner of the Operation, and from thence are tempted to believe, that there is really no such Thing. Therefore, I judge it requisite to explain this, and 'tis not unsuitable to my general Subject.

IN order to it I consider, That Sense is primarily caused by Motion in the Organs, which by Continuity is conveyed to the Brain, where Sensation is immediately performed ; and it is nothing else but a Notice excited in the Soul, by the Impulse of an external Object. Thus it is in simple outward Sense : But Imagination, though caused immediately by material Motion also, yet it differs from the external Senses in this, That 'tis not from an Impress directly from without, but the prime and original Motion is from within our selves : Thus the Soul itself sometimes strikes upon those Strings, whose Motion begets such and such Phantasms ; otherwhile, the loose Spirits, wandring up and down in the Brain, casually hit upon such Filaments and Strings whose Motion excites a Conception, which we call a Fancy, or Imagination ; and if the Evidence of the outward Senses be shut out by Sleep, or Melancholy, in either Case, we believe those Representations to be real and external Transactions, when they are only within our Heads ; Thus it is in Enthusiasms, and Dreams,
And

And, besides the Causes of the Motions, which stir Imagination, there is little Doubt, but that Spirits, good or bad, can so move the Instruments of Sense in the Brain, as to awake such Imaginations, as they have a Mind to excite ; and the Imagination having a mighty Influence upon the Affections, and they upon the Will and external Actions, 'tis very easy to conceive how good Angels may stir us up to Religion and Virtue, and the evil Ones tempt us to Lewdness and Vice, viz. by Representments that they make upon the Stage of Imagination, which invite our Affections, and allure, though they cannot compel, our Wills.

THIS I take to be an intelligible Account of Temptations, and also of angelical Encouragements ; and, perhaps, this is the only Way of immediate Influence, that the Spirits of the other World have upon us. And, by it, 'tis easy to give an Account of Dreams, both Monitory, and Temperamental, Enthusiasms, Fanatick Extasies, and the like, as I suggested.

THUS, Sir, to the First. But the other Pretence also must be examined.

S E C T. XX.

Miracles are ceased, therefore the presum'd Actions of Witchcraft are Tales, and Illusions.

To make a due Return to this, we must consider a great and difficult Problem, which is, *What is a real Miracle ?* And, for Answer to this weighty Question, I think,

(I.) THAT it is not the Strangeness or Unaccountableness of the Thing done simply, from whence we are to conclude a Miracle. For then, we are so to account of all the Magnalia of Nature, and all the Mysteries of those honest Arts, which we do not understand.

NOR (2.) is this the Criterion of a Miracle, that it is an Action or Event, beyond all natural Powers ; for we are ignorant of the Extent and Bounds of Nature's Sphere, and Possibilities ; and if this were the Character and essential Mark of a Miracle, we could not know what was so ; except we could determine the Extent of natural Casualties, and fix their Bounds, and be able to say to Nature, *Hitherto canst thou go, and no farther.* And he that makes this his Measure,

Measure, whereby to judge a Miracle, is himself the greatest Miracle of *Knowledge*, or *Immodesty*. Besides, tho' an Effect may transcend really all the Powers of *meer Nature*; yet there is a *World of Spirits* that must be taken into our Account, and as to them also I say,

(3.) *EVERY* Thing is not a *Miracle* that is done by *Agents supernatural*. There is no Doubt, but that evil Spirits can make wonderful Combinations of *natural Causes*, and, perhaps, perform many Things, immediately, which are prodigious, and beyond the *longest Line of Nature*; but yet *these* are not, therefore, to be called Miracles; for *they are sacred Wonders, and suppose the Power to be Divine*. But how shall the Power be known to be so, when we so little understand the *Capacities* and *Extent* of the Abilities of *lower Agents*? The Answer to this *Question* will discover the Criterion of Miracles, which must be supposed to have all the former Particulars; (*they are unaccountable beyond the Powers of meer Nature, and done by Agents supernatural*) and to these must be superadded,

(4.) *THAT* they have *peculiar Circumstances* that speak them of a divine Original. Their mediate *Authors* declare them *to be so*, and they are always Persons of Simplicity, Truth, and Holiness, void of Ambition, and all *secular Designs*. They seldom seldom use Ceremonies, or natural Applications, and yet surmount all the Activities of *known Nature*. They work those Wonders, not to raise Admiration, or out of the Vanity to be *talk'd of*; but to seal and confirm some divine Doctrine, or Commission, in which the *Good and Happiness* of the World is concern'd. I say, by such Circumstances as *these*, wonderful Actions are *known* to be from a divine Cause; and that makes, and distinguisheth a Miracle.

AND thus I am prepared for an *Answer* to the *Objection*, to which I make this brief Return: That tho' *WITCHES*, by their *confederate Spirit*, do those odd and astonishing Things we believe of them; yet, are they no *Miracles*, there being Evidence enough from the *Badness* of their *Lives*, and the *ridiculous Ceremonies* of their Performances, from their *Malice* and *mischievous Designs*, that the Power that works, and the End, for which those Things are done, is not *divine*, but *diabolical*. And, by *singular Providence*, they are not ordinarily permitted, as much as to pretend to any new *sacred Discoveries* in Matters of Religion, or to act
any

any Thing for Confirmation of doctrinal Impostures ; so, that whether Miracles are *ceased*, or not, these are *none*, and that such Miracles as are only *strange* and *unaccountable* Performances, above the common *Methods* of *Art*, or *Nature*, are not *ceas'd*, we have a late great Evidence in the famous *G R E A T R A K* ; concerning whom, it will not be impertinent to add the following *Account*, which I had in a *Letter* from the Reverend Dr. R. Dean of C. a Person of great *Veracity* and a *Philosopher*. This learned Gentleman then is pleased thus to write.

TH E great Discourse now at the Coffee-Houses, and every where, is about Mr. G. the famous Irish Stroker ; concerning whom, 'tis like, you expect an Account from me. He undergoes various Censures here ; some take him to be a Conjuror, and some an Impostor ; but others again adore him as an Apostle. I confess, I think, the Man is free from all Design, of a very agreeable Conversation, not addicted to any Vice, nor to any Sect or Party ; but is, I believe, a sincere Protestant. I was three Weeks together with him at my Lord Conway's, and saw him, (I think) lay his Hands upon a thousand Persons ; and really there is something in it more than ordinary ; but I am convinced, 'tis not miraculous. I have seen Pains strangely fly before his Hand, till he hath chased them out of the Body ; Dimness cleared, and Deafness cured by his Touch ; twenty Persons at several Times, in Fits of the Falling-Sickness, were, in two or three Minutes, brought to themselves, so as to tell where their Pain was ; and then he hath pursued it, till he hath driven it out at some extreme Part : Running Sores of the King's Evil dried up, and Kernels brought to a Suppuration by his Hand ; grievous Sores of many Months Date, in few Days, healed ; Obstructions, and Stoppings removed, Cancerous Knots in the Breast dissolved, &c.

BUT yet I have many Reasons to persuade me, that nothing of all this is miraculous : He pretends not to give Testimony to any Doctrine ; the Manner of his Operation speaks it to be natural, the Cure seldom succeeds without reiterating Touches, his Patients often relapse, he fails frequently, he can do nothing where there is any Decay in Nature, and many Distempers are not at all obedient to his Touch. So that, I confess, I refer all his Vertue to his particular Temper and Complexion ; and I take his Spirits to be a Kind of Elixir, and universal Ferment ; and that he
cures

cures, as (*Dr. M. expresseth it*) by a fanative Contagion, Enthusiasm. Triumphat. *Seet. 58.*

T H I S, Sir, was the first Account of the Healer, I had from that reverend Person; which, with me, signifies more, than the Attestations of Multitudes of ordinary Reporters; and, no Doubt, but it will do, likewise, with all that know that excellent Man's singular Integrity and Judgment. But, besides this, upon my Enquiry into some other Particulars about this Matter, I received these farther Informations.

As for Mr. G. what Opinion he hath of his own Gift, and how he came to know it? I answer, he hath a different Apprehension of it from yours and mine; and, certainly, believeth it to be an immediate Gift from Heaven; and, 'tis no Wonder, for he is no Philosopher; and, you will wonder less, when you hear how he came to know it, as I have often received it from his own Mouth.

ABOUT three or four Years ago, he had a strong Impulse upon his Spirit, that continually pursued him, whatever he was about, at his Business, or Devotion; alone, or in Company; that spake to him by this inward Suggestion, (*I have given thee the Gift of curing the Evil*) This Suggestion was so importunate, that he complained to to his Wife, that he thought he was haunted. She apprehended it as an Extravagancy of Fancy, but, he told her, he believed there was more in it, and was resolved to try. He did not long want Opportunity. There was a Neighbour of his, grievously afflicted with the King's Evil, he stroked her, and the Effect succeeded; and, for about a Twelve-month together, he pretended to cure no other Distemper. But then the Ague being very rise in the Neighbourhood, the same Impulse, after the same Manner, spoke within him; (*I have given thee the Gift of curing the Ague*) and meeting with Persons in their Fits, and taking them by the Hand, or laying his Hand upon their Breasts, the Ague left them. About half a Year after, the accustom'd Impulse became more general, and suggested to him, (*I have given thee the Gift of Healing*) and then he attempted all Diseases indifferently; and, tho' he saw strange Effects, yet he doubted whether the Causes were any Vertue that came from him, or the People's Fancy; to convince him of his Incredulity, as he lay one Night in Bed, one of his Hands was struck dead, and the usual Impulse suggested to him, to make
Trial

Trial of his Vertue upon himself; which he did, stroaking it with his other Hand, and then it immediately returned to its former Liveliness. This was repeated two or three Nights (or Mornings) together.

This is his Relation, and I believe there is so much Sincerity in the Person, that he tells no more than what he believes to be true. To say that this Impulse too was but a Result of his Temper, and that it is but like Dreams that are usually according to Mens Constitutions, doth not seem a probable Account of the Phenomenon. Perhaps some may think it more likely, that some Genius, who understood the sanative Vertue of his Complexion, and the Readiness of his Mind, and Ability of his Body, to put it in Execution, might give him Notice of that, which, otherwise, might have been for ever unknown to him; and so the Gift of God had been to no Purpose.

THIS, Sir, is my learned and reverend Friend's Relation, and I judge his Reflections as ingenious, as his Report is sincere. I shall say no more about it, but this, that many of those Matters of Fact have been since critically inspected and examined, by several sagacious and deep Searchers of the ROYAL SOCIETY, whom we may suppose as unlikely to be deceived by a contrived Imposture, as any Persons extant.

AND, now Sir, 'tis fit that I relieve your Patience; and I shall do so, when I have said, that you can abundantly prove what I have thus attempted to defend; and that, among the many Obligations your Country hath to you, for the Wisdom and Diligence of your Endeavours in its Service; your ingenious Industry, for the Detecting of those vile Practisers, is not the least considerable. To which, I will add no more, but the Confession, who it is that hath given you all this Trouble; which, I know, you are ready to pardon, to the Respect and good Intentions of,

S I R,

*Your Affectionate and Obligated
Honourer and Servant,*

JOS. GLANVILL.

N.B. Here followeth most Part of the two last Chapters, of the learned Dr. MORE's Eucheridion Ethicum, being a very useful Supplement to the foregoing Considerations of
Nr. Glanvill. E Easy



T H E
Easy, True, and Genuine
N O T I O N,
And consistent
E X P L I C A T I O N
O F T H E
N A T U R E of a S P I R I T.

Whereby the Possibility of the Existence of *Spirits, Apparitions, and Witchcraft*, is farther confirm'd.

S E C T. I.

The Opinions of the NULLIBISTS and HOLENMERIANS proposed.



H A T we may explicate the *Essence or Notion* of *incorporeal Beings*, or *Spirits*, with the greater Satisfaction and Success, we are first to remove two vast Mounds of Darkness, wherewith the Ignorance of some hath encumber'd and obscured their Nature.

A N D the First is, of those, who, tho' they readily acknowledge, there are such Things as *incorporeal Beings*, or *Spirits*, yet, do very peremptorily contend, that they are *no where* in the whole World; which Opinion, tho', at the
very

very Sight, it appears very ridiculous, yet it is stiffly held by the Maintainers of it, and that not without some Fastuosity and Superciliousness ; or, at least, some more sly and tacit Contempt of such Philosophers, as hold the contrary, as of Men less intellectual, and too too much indulging to their *Imagination*. Those other, therefore, because they so boldly affirm that a Spirit is *Nullibi*, that is to say, *nowhere*, have deservedly purchased to themselves the Name or Title of *Nullibists*.

THE other Mound of Darkeness, laid upon the Nature of a Spirit, is, by those, who willingly indeed acknowledge that Spirits are *somewhere* ; but add farther, That they are not only entirely, or totally, in their whole *Ubi* or *Place*, (in the most general Sense of the Word) but are totally in every Part or Point thereof, and describe the peculiar Nature of a Spirit to be such, that it must be *Totus in toto, & totus in qualibet sui parte*. Which, therefore, the Greeks would fitly and briefly call *ἐσάν ὁλενμερῆν*, *an Essence that is all of it in each Part*, and this Propriety thereof (*ἡ ἀσμάτων ἐσάν τὴν ὁλενμερίαν*) the *Holenmerism* of *incorporeal Beings*. Whence also, these other Philosophers, diametrically opposite to the former, may most significantly and compendiously be called *Holenmerians*.

S E C T. II.

That Cartesius is the Prince of the Nullibists, and wherein chiefly consists the Force of their Opinion.

THE Opinions of both which Kind of Philosophers having sufficiently explained, we will now propose and confute the Reasons of each of them ; and first of the *Nullibists*, of whom the chief Author and Leader seems to have been that pleasant Wit, *Renatus des Cartes* ; who, by his jocular *metaphysical Meditations*, has so luxated and distorted the rational Faculties of some, otherwise, sober and quick-witted Persons ; but in this Point, by Reason of their over-great Admiration of *Des Cartes*, not sufficiently cautious, that deceived partly by his counterfeit and prestigious Subtlety, and partly by his Authority, have persuaded themselves, that such Things were most *true* and *clear* to them ; which, had they not been blinded with these Prejudices, they could never have thought to have been

so much as possible, and so they having been so industriously taught, and diligently instructed by him, how they might not be imposed upon, no, not by the most powerful and ill-minded fallacious Deity, have heedlessly, by not sufficiently standing upon their Guard, being deceived and deluded by a meer Man, but of a pleasant and abundantly cunning and abstruse Genius; as shall clearly appear, after we have searched and examined the Reasons of this Opinion of the *Nullibists* to the very Bottom.

THE whole Force whereof is comprised in these three Axioms, the first, *That whatsoever thinks is Immaterial*, and so on the contrary. The second, *That whatever is extended is Material*. The third, *That whatever is unextended is no where*. To which Third, I shall add this Fourth, as a necessary and manifest Confectary thereof, viz. *That whatsoever is somewhere is extended*. Which the *Nullibists*, of themselves, will easily grant me to be most true, otherwise they could not seriously contend for their Opinion, whereby they affirm Spirits to be *no where*, but would be found to do it only by Way of an oblique and close Derision of their Existence, saying indeed they *exist*, but then again hiddenly and cunningly denying it, by affirming they are *no where*. Wherefore, doubtless, they affirm them to be *no where*, if they are in good earnest, for this Reason only; for fear they granting them to be *some where*, it would be presently extorted from them, even according to their own Principles, that they are *extended*, as whatever is extended is Material, according to their second Axiom. It is therefore manifest, that we both agree in this, that whatever real Being there is, that is *somewhere*, is also *extended*.

S E C T. III.

The Sophistical Weakness of that Reasoning of the Nullibists, who, because we can conceive Cogitation without conceiving in the mean while Matter, conclude, That whatsoever thinks is Immaterial.

WITH which Truth, notwithstanding, we being furnished and supported, I doubt not but we shall with Ease quite overthrow and utterly root out this Opinion of the *Nullibists*. But that their Levity and Credulity may
more

more manifestly appear, let us examine the Principles of this Opinion by Parts, and consider how well they make good each Member.

THE first is, *Whatever thinks is Immaterial*, and on the contrary. The Conversion of this Axiom I will not examine, because it makes little to the present Purpose; I will only note by the bye, that I doubt not but it may be false, altho' I easily grant the Axiom itself to be true, but it is this new Method of demonstrating it, I call in question, which from hence, that we can conceive *Cogitation*, in the mean time not conceiving *Matter*, concludes that *Whatever thinks is Immaterial*. Now that we can conceive *Cogitation*, without conceiving *Matter*, they say is manifest from hence, that altho' one should suppose there were no Body in the Universe, and should not flinch from that Position, yet notwithstanding he would not cease to be certain, that there was *Res cogitans*, a *thinking Being*, in the World, he finding himself to be such; but I farther add, tho' he should suppose there was no *Immaterial Being* in Nature, (nor indeed *Material*) and should not flinch from that Position, yet he would not cease to be certain that there was a *thinking Being* (no, not if he should suppose himself not to be a thinking Being) because he can *suppose* nothing without *Cogitation*. Which I thought worth the while to note by the bye, that the great Levity of the *Nullibists* might hence more clearly appear.

BUT yet I add farther, that such is the Nature of the Mind of Man, that it is like the Eye, better fitted to contemplate other Things than itself; and that therefore it is no Wonder that, thinking nothing of its own Essence, it does fixedly enough, and intently, consider in the mean time, and contemplate all other Things, yea, those very Things with which she has the nearest Affinity, and yet without any Reflection that herself is of the like Nature. Whence it may easily come to pass, when she is so wholly taken up in contemplating other Things, without any Reflection upon herself, that either carelessly she may consider herself in general as a *meer thinking Being*, without any other Attribute, or else by Resolvedness afterwards, and by a Force on purpose offered to her own Faculties. But that this Reasoning is wonderfully weak and trifling, as to the proving of the Mind of Man to be nothing

else ; that is to say, to have no other Attributes but meer Cogitation, there is none that does not discern.

S E C T. IV.

The true Method that ought to be taken for the proving, that Matter cannot think.

LASTLY, if *Cartesius* with his *Nullibists* would have dealt *bonâ fide*, they ought to have omitted all those ambiguous Windings and Meanders of feigned Abstraction, and, with a direct Stroke, to have fallen upon the Thing itself, and so to have sifted *Matter*, and searched the Nature of *Cogitation*, that they might thence have evidently demonstrated, that there was some inseparable Attribute in *Matter*, that is repugnant to the *Cogitative* Faculty, or in *Cogitation* that is repugnant to *Matter*. But out of the meer Diversity of Ideas or Notions of any Attributes, to collect their Separability or *real* Distinction, yea, their Contrariety and Repugnancy, is most foully to violate the indispenfable Laws of *Logick*, and to confound *Diversa* with *Opposita*, and make them all one. Which Mistake, to them that understand *Logick*, must needs appear very coarse and absurd.

BUT that the Weakness and Vacillancy of this Method may yet more clearly appear, let us suppose that, which yet Philosophers of no mean Name seriously stand for and assert, *viz.* That *Cogitative* Substance is either *Material* or *Immaterial*; does it not apparently follow thence, that a thinking Substance may be precisely conceived without the Conception of *Matter*, as *Matter* without the Conception of *Cogitation*, when notwithstanding, in one of the Members of this Distribution, they are joined sufficiently close together?

How can therefore this new fangled Method of *Cartesius* convince us, that this Supposition is false; and that the Distribution is illegitimate? Can it from thence, that *Matter* may be conceived without *Cogitation*, and *Cogitation* without *Matter*? The first all grant, and the other the Distribution itself supposes; and yet continues sufficiently firm and sure, therefore it is very evident, that there is a Necessity of our having Recourse to the known and ratified Laws of *Logick*, which, many Ages before
this

this new upstart Method of *des Cartes* appeared, were established and approved by the common Suffrage of Mankind ; which teach us that, in every legitimate Distribution, the Parts ought *consentire cum toto*, & *dissentire inter se*, to agree with the Whole, but disagree one with another. Now in this Distribution, that they do sufficiently disagree, it is very manifest. It remains only to be proved, that one of the Parts, namely, that which supposes that a *Cogitative* Substance may be *Material*, is repugnant to the Nature of the Whole. This is that clear, solid, and manifest Way or Method, according to the known Laws of *Logic* ; but that new Way, a Kind of Sophistry and pleasant Mode of trifling and prevaricating.

S E C T. V.

That all Things are in some Sort extended, demonstrated out of the Corollary of the third Principle of the Nullibists.

AS for the second Axiom or Principle, *viz. That whatsoever is extended is Material* ; for the evincing the Falsity thereof, there want no new Arguments, if one have but Recourse to the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Chapters of *Enchiridium Metaphysicum*, where, by unanswerable Reasonings it is demonstrated, That it is a certain Immaterial and Immoveable *Extensum*, distinct from the Moveable Matter. But however, out of the Confessary of their third Principle, we shall prove at once, that all Spirits are extended as being somewhere, against the wild and ridiculous Opinion of the *Nullibists*.

Whose third Principle, and out of which immediately and precisely they conclude Spirits to be no where, is, *Whatsoever is unextended is no where*. Which I very willingly grant ; but on this Condition, that they on the other Side concede (and I doubt not but they will) That *whatsoever is somewhere is also extended* ; from which Confessary, I will evince, with Mathematical Certainty, That God and our Soul, and all other Immaterial Being, are in some Sort extended : For the *Nullibists* themselves acknowledge and assert, that the Operations, wherewith the Soul acts on the Body, are in the Body ; and that Power or Divine Vertue, wherewith God acts on the

Matter and moves it, is present in every Part of the Matter. Whence it is easily gathered, That the Operation of the Soul, and the moving Power of God, is somewhere, *viz.* in the *Body*, and in the *Matter*. But the Operation of the *Soul*, wherewith it acts on the *Body* and the *Soul itself*, and the Divine Power, wherewith *God* moves the *Matter* and *God himself*, are together, nor can so much as be imagined separate one from the other; namely, the *Operation* from the *Soul*, and the *Power* from *God*. Wherefore, if the Operation of the Soul is somewhere, the Soul is somewhere, *viz.* there where the Operation is. And if the Power of God be somewhere, God is somewhere, namely, there where the Divine Power is; *He*, in every Part of the *Matter*, the *Soul*, in the humane *Body*. Whosoever can deny this, by the same Reason he may deny that common Notion in Mathematicks, Quantities, that are singly equal to one Third, are equal to one another.

S E C T. VI.

The apert Confession of the Nullibists, that the ESSENCE of a Spirit is where its OPERATION is; and how they contradict themselves, and are forced to acknowledge a Spirit extended.

AND verily that, which we contend for, the Nullibists seem apertly to assert, even in their own express Words, as it is evident in *Lambertus Velthufius* in his *De Initiis Primæ Philosophiæ*, in the Chapter *De Ubi*. Who though he does manifestly affirm, that God and the Mind of Man, by their Operations, are in every Part, or some one Part of the Matter; and that in that Sense, namely, in Respect of their Operations, the *Soul* may be truly said to be *somewhere*, *God every-where*; as if that were the only Mode of their Presence: Yet he does expressly grant that the *Essence* is no where separate from *that*, whereby God or a created Spirit is said to be, the one *every-where*, the other *somewhere*; that no Man may conceit the *Essence* of God to be where the rest of his *Attributes* are not. That the *Essence* of God is in Heaven, but that his *Vertue* diffuses itself beyond Heaven. No, by no Means, saith he, Wheresoever *God's Power or Operation* is, there is the *Nature* of *God*; forasmuch as God is a Substance devoid

devoid of all Composition. Thus far *Veltbusius*. Whence I assume, But the Power or Operation of God is in, or present to, the *Matter*; Therefore the *Essence* of God is in, or present to, the *Matter*; and is there where the *Matter* is, and therefore *somewhere*. Can there be any Deduction or Illation more close and coherent with the Premises?

AND yet that other most devoted Follower of the *Cartesian* Philosophy, *Ludovicus De la Forge*, cannot abstain from the offering us the same Advantage of arguing, or rather from the inferring the same Conclusion with us in his Treatise *De Mente Humana*, Chap. 12. where occur these Words: "Lastly, when I say, that God is present to Things by his *Omnipotency*, (and consequently to all the Parts of the *Matter*) I do not deny but that also by his *Essence* or *Substance* he is present to them: For all those Things in God are one and the same.

DOST thou hear, my *Nullibists*, what one of the chiefest of thy Disciples, and most religious Symmysts of that stupendious Secret of *Nullibism* plainly professes, namely, that God is present to all the Parts of *Matter* by his *Essence* also, or *Substance*? And yet you in the mean while blush not to assert, that neither God, nor any created Spirit is any where; than which nothing more contradictory can be spoke, or thought, or more abhorring from all Reason. Wherefore whenas the *Nullibists* come so near to the Truth, it seems impossible they should, so all of a sudden, start from it, unless they were blinded with a superstitious Admiration of *Des Cartes's* his Metaphysicks, and were deluded, effascinated and befooled with his jocular Subtlety and prestigious Abstractions there: For who in his right Wits can acknowledge, that a *Spirit* by its *Essence* may be present to *Matter*, and yet be *no where*, unless the *Matter* were *no where* also? And that a Spirit may penetrate, possess, and actuate some determinate Body, and yet not be in that Body? In which if it be, it is plainly necessary it be somewhere.

AND yet the same *Ludovicus De la Forge* does manifestly assert, that the Body is thus possess'd and actuated by the Soul, in his Preface to his Treatise *de Mente Humana*, while he declares the Opinion of *Marsilius Ficinus*, concerning the Manner how the Soul actuates the Body

in *Marsilius's* own Words, and does of his own Accord assent to his Opinion. What therefore do these *Forms* to the Body, when they communicate to it their *Esse*? They thoroughly penetrate it with their *Essence*, they bequeath the *Vertue* of their *Essence* to it. But now, whereas the *Esse* is deduced from the *Essence*, and the *Operation* flows from the *Vertue*, by conjoining the *Essence* they impart the *Esse*, by bequeathing the *Vertue* they communicate the *Operations*; so that, out of the Congress of Soul and Body, there is made one *Animal Esse*, one *Operation*. Thus he: The Soul with her *Essence* penetrates and pervades the whole Body, and yet is not where the Body is, but no where in the Universe!

WITH what manifest Repugnancy therefore to their other *Affertions*, the *Nullibists* hold this ridiculous Conclusion, we have sufficiently seen, and how weak their chiefest Prop is, That *whatever is extended is Material*; which is not only confuted by irrefragable Arguments, *Chap. 6, 7. and 8. Enchyrid. Metaphy.* but we have here also, by so clearly proving that all *Spirits* are *somewhere*, utterly subverted it, even from that very Concession or Opinion of the *Nullibists* themselves, who concede or aver, that *whatsoever is somewhere is extended*. Which *Spirits* are, and yet are not *Material*.

S E C T. VII.

The more light Reasonings of the Nullibists, whereby they would confirm their Opinion. The first of which is, That the Soul thinks of those Things which are no where.

BUT we shall not pass by their more slight Reasonings in so great a Matter, or rather so monstrous. Of which the first is, That the Mind of Man thinks of such Things as are *no where*, nor have any Relation to Place, not so much as to *Logical Place* or *Ubi*. Of which Sort are many Truths, as well *Moral* as *Theological* and *Logical*, which being of such a Nature, that they are *no where*, the Mind of Man, which conceives them, is necessarily *no where* also. But how crazily and inconsequently they collect that the humane Soul is *no where*, for that it thinks of those Things, that are *no where*, may be apparent

rent to any one from hence, and especially to the *Nullibists* themselves; because from the same Reason it would follow that the *Mind* of Man is *somewhere*, because sometimes, if not always in a Manner, it thinks of those Things which are *somewhere*, as all *Material* Things are. Which yet they dare not grant, because it would plainly follow from thence, according to their Doctrine, that the Mind or Soul of Man were *extended*, and so would become *corporeal* and devoid of all *Cogitation*. But besides, These Things which, they say, are *no where*, namely, certain *Moral*, *Logical*, and *Theological* Truths, are really *somewhere*, viz. in the *Soul* itself which conceives them; but the *Soul* is in the *Body*, as we proved above. Whence it is manifest, that the *Soul* and those Truths, which she conceives, are as well *somewhere*, as the *Body* itself. I grant that some Truths, as they are *Representations*, neither respect *Time* nor *Place*, in whatever Sense. But, as they are *Operations*, and therefore *Modes* of some *Subject* or *Substance*, they cannot be otherwise conceived than in some *Substance*. And forasmuch as there is no *Substance* which has not some *Amplitude*, they are in a *Substance* which is in some Sort *extended*; and so, by reason of their *Subject*, they are necessarily conceived to be *somewhere*, because a *Mode* is inseparable from a *Subject*.

NOR am I at all moved with that giddy and rash *Tergiversation*, which some betake themselves to here, who say we do not well in distinguishing betwixt *Cogitation* (such as are all conceived *Verities*) and the *Substance* of the *Soul* cogitating: For *Cogitation* itself is the very *Substance* of the *Soul*, as *Extension* is of *Matter*; and that therefore the *Soul* is as well *no where*, as any *Cogitation*, which respects neither *Time* nor *Place*, would be, if it were found in no *Subject*. But here the *Nullibists*, who would thus escape, do not observe that, while they acknowledge the *Substance* of the *Soul* to be *Cogitation*, they therewithal acknowledge the *Soul* to have a *Substance*, whence it is necessary it have some *Amplitude*. And besides, This Assertion, whereby they assert *Cogitation* to be the very *Substance* of the *Soul*, is manifestly false. For many *Operations* of the *Soul* are, as they speak, *specifically* different; Which therefore, succeeding one after another, will be so many *Substances* *specifically* different. And so the *Soul* of *Socrates* will not always be

be the same *specific* Soul, and much less the same *numerical*; Than which what can be imagined more delirant, and more remote from common Sense?

To which you may add, That the *Soul* of Man is a *permanent* Being, but her *Cogitations* in a *Flux* or *Succession*; How then can the very Substance of the Soul be its successive Operations? And when the Substance of the Soul does so perpetually cease or perish, what, I beseech you, will become of Memory? From whence it is manifestly evident, that there is a certain *permanent* Substance of the Soul, as much distinct or different from her succeeding *Cogitations*, as the *Matter* itself is from its successive *Figures* and *Motions*.

S E C T. VIII.

The second Reason of the Nullibists, viz. That COGITATION is easily conceived without EXTENSION.

THE second Reason is somewhat co-incident with some of those we have already examined; but it is briefly proposed by them thus; There can be no Conception, no not of a *Logical Place* or *Ubi*, without *Extension*. But *Cogitation* is easily conceived without conceiving any *Extension*: Wherefore the Mind cogitating, exempt from all *Extension*, is exempt also from all *Locality*, whether *Physical* or *Logical*; and is so loosened from it, that it has no *Relation* nor *Applicability* thereto; as if those Things had no *Relation* nor *Applicability* to other certain Things, without which they might be conceived.

THE Weakness of this Argumentation is easily apprehended from hence, That the *Intensness* of Heat or Motion is considered, without any Respect to its *Extension*, and yet it is referred to an extended Subject, *viz.* To a Bullet-shot, or red-hot Iron. And though, in intent and defixed Thoughts upon some either difficult or pleasing Object, we do not at all observe how the Time passeth, nor take the slightest Notice of it, nothing hinders, notwithstanding but those *Cogitations* may be applied to Time, and it be rightly said, that about six o' Clock, suppose, in the Morning they began, and continued till eleven;

ven; and, in like Manner, the Place may be defined where they were conceived; viz. within the Walls of such an one's Study; although, perhaps, all that Time, this so fix'd Contemplator did not take Notice, whether he was in his *Study*, or in the *Fields*.

AND to speak out the Matter at once, From the *Precision* of our Thoughts, to infer the *real* Precision or *Separation* of the Things themselves, is a very putid and puerile Sophism; and still the more enormous and wild, to collect also, thence, that they have no Relation or Applicability one to another. For we may have a clear and distinct *Apprehension* of a Thing which may be connected with another by an *essential* Tye; that Tye being not taken Notice of, (and much more, when they are connected only with a *circumstantial* one) but not a full and adequate *Apprehension*, and such as sees through and penetrates all the Degrees of its Essence, with their Properties; Which unless a Man reach to, he cannot rightly judge of the real Separability of any Nature from other Natures:

FROM whence it appears, how foully *Cartesius* has imposed, if not upon himself, at least, upon others, when; from this mental Percision of *Cogitation* from *Extension*, he defined a Spirit (such as the humane Soul) by *Cogitation* only, *Matter* by *Extension*, and divided all *Substance* into *Cogitant* and *Extended*, as into their first Species or Kinds. Which Distribution, notwithstanding, is as absonous and absurd, as if he had distributed *Animal* into *Sensitive* and *Rational*. Whenas, all *Substance* is *extended* as well as all *Animals sensitive*. But he fixed his Animadversion upon the *specifick* Nature of the humane Soul; the *generical* Nature thereof, either on purpose, or by Inadvertency, being not considered, nor taken Notice of by him, as hath been noted in *Enchiridion Ethicum*, lib. 3. cap. 4. sect. 3.

S E C T. IX.

The third and last Reason of the Nullibists, viz. That the Mind is conscious to herself; that she is no where, unless she is disturbed or jogged by the Body.

THE third and last Reason, which is the most ingenious of them all, occurs in *Lambertus Velthufius*, viz. That it is a Truth which God has infused into the Mind itself;

itself, That she is no where, because, we know by Experience, that we cannot tell, from our spiritual Operations, where the Mind is. And for that we know her to be in our Body, that we only perceive from the Operations of *Sense* and *Imagination*, which, without the Body or the Motion of the Body, the Mind cannot perform. The Sense whereof, if I guess right, is this; That the Mind, by a certain internal Sense, is conscious to herself, that she is *no where*, unless she be now and then disturbed by the Motions or Joggings of the Body; which is, as I said, an ingenious Prefage, but not true: For it is one Thing to perceive herself to be no where, another, not to perceive herself to be somewhere. For she may not perceive herself to be somewhere, though she be somewhere, as she may not take Notice of her own *Individuality* or *numerical Distinction*, from all other Minds, although she be one *numerical* or *individual* Mind, distinct from the rest. For, as I intimated above, such is the Nature of the Mind of Man, that, like the Eye, it is better fitted for the contemplating all other Things, than for contemplating itself. And that, indeed, which is made for the clearly and sincerely seeing other Things, ought to have nothing of itself actually perceptible in it, which it might mingle with the Perception of those other Things. From whence the Mind of Man is not to have any stable and fix'd Sense of its own Essence; and such as it cannot easily lay aside upon Occasion: And therefore, it is no Wonder, whenas the Mind of Man can put off the Sense and Consciousness to itself of its own *Essence* and *Individuality*, that it can put off also therewith the Sense of its being *somewhere*, or not perceive it; whenas it does not perceive its own *Essence* and *Individuality*, (of which *Hic* & *Nunc* are the known Characters:) And the chief Objects of the Mind are Universals.

BUT, as the Mind, although it perceives not its *Individuality*, yet can by Reason prove to herself, that she is some one *numerical* or *individual* Mind, so she can by the same Means, although, she, by inward Sense, perceives not where she is, evince, notwithstanding, that she is somewhere, from the general Account of Things, which have that of their own Nature, that they are *extended*, *singular*, and *somewhere*. And, besides, *Veltbuius* himself does plainly grant, that from the Operations of Sense
and

and Imagination; we know our Mind to be in our Body. How then can we be ignorant, that she is *somewhere*, unless the Body itself be *no where*?

S E C T. X.

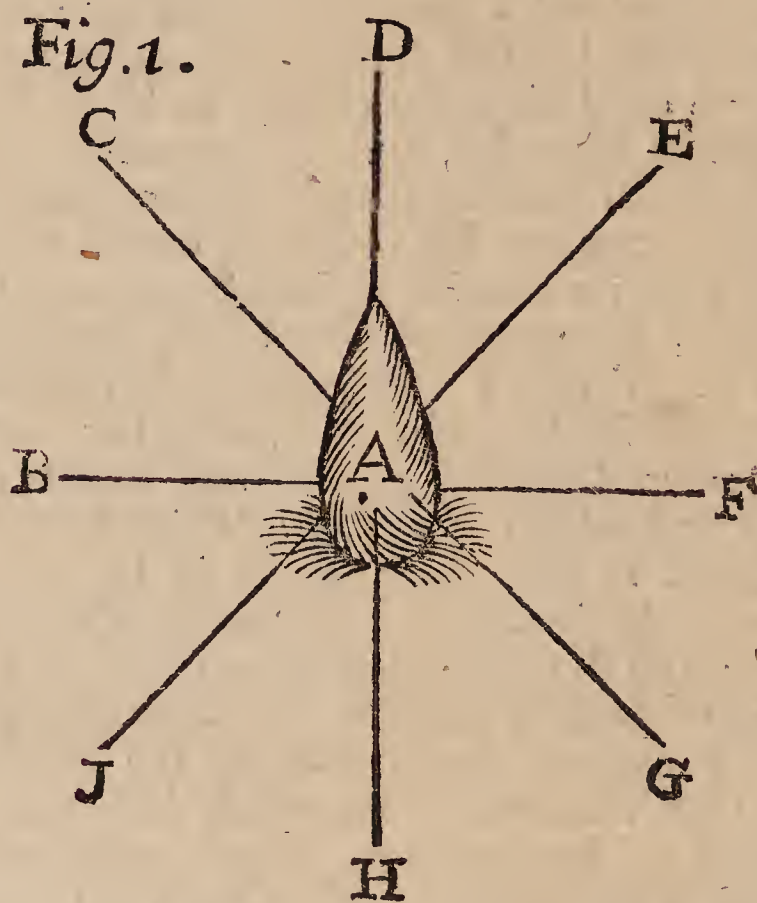
An Appeal to the internal Sense of the Mind, if she be not environed with a certain infinite Extension; together with an Excitation of the Nullibist out of his Dream, by the Sound of Trumpeters surrounding him.

THE Reasons of the Nullibists, whereby they endeavour to maintain their Opinion, are sufficiently enervated and subverted: Nor have we Need of any Arguments to establish the contrary Doctrine. I will only desire by the bye, that he, that thinks his *Mind* is *no where*, would make Trial of his Faculty of Thinking; and, when he has abstracted himself from all Thought or Sense of his *Body*, and fixed his *Mind* only on an Idea of an indefinite or *infinite Extension*, and also perceives himself to be some *particular cogitant Being*, let him make Trial, I say, whether he can any Way avoid it, but he must at the same Time perceive that he is *somewhere*, namely, within this *immense Extension*, and that he is environ'd round about with it. Verily, I must ingenuously confess, I cannot conceive otherwise, and that I cannot but conceive an Idea of a certain *Extension infinite and immoveable*, and of *necessary and actual Existence*: Which I most clearly deprehend, not to have been drawn in by the outward Sense, but to be innate and essentially inherent in the Mind itself; and so to be the genuine *Object*, not of *Imagination*, but of *Intellect*; and that it is but perversly, and, without all Judgment, determined by the *Nullibists*, or *Cartesians*, that whatever is extended, is also $\phi\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\acute{o}\nu\pi$, or the *Object of Imagination*; When, notwithstanding, there is nothing *imaginable*, or the *Object of Imagination*, which is not *sensible*: For all Phantasms are drawn from the Senses. But this *infinite Extension* has no more to do with Things that are *sensible*, and fall under *Imagination*, than that which is most *incorporeal*. But, of this, haply, it will be more opportune to speak elsewhere.

IN the mean Time, I will subjoin only one Argument, whereby I may manifestly evince, that the Mind of Man

is

is somewhere, and then I will betake myself to the Discussing of the Opinion of the *Holenmerians*. Briefly, therefore, let us suppose some one environed with a Ring of Trumpeters, and, that they all, at the same Time, sound their Trumpets. Let us now see, if the circumsonant Clangor of those surrounding Trumpets, sounding from all Sides, will awake these *Nullibists* out of their Lethargick Dream. And, let us suppose, which they will willingly concede, that *Conarion*, or *Glandula Pinealis*, A, is the Seat of the common Sense, to which, at length, all the Motions from external Objects arrive. Nor is it any Matter whether it be this *Conarion*, or some Part of the Brain, or of what is contained in the Brain: But, let the *Conarion*, at least, for this Bout, supply the Place of that Matter, which is the common *Sensorium* of the Soul.



AND, whenas it is supposed to be surrounded with eight Trumpeters, let there be eight Lines drawn from them, namely, from B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I; I say, that the Clangor or Sound of every Trumpet is carried, from the Ring of the Trumpeters, to the extreme Part of every one of those Lines, and all those Sounds are heard, as coming from the Ring B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, and perceived

ceived in the *Conarion* A; and, that the Perception is in that Part; to which all the Lines of Motion, as to a common Center, do concur; and, therefore, the extreme Parts of them, and the *Perceptions* of the Clangours or Sounds, are in the Middle of the Ring of Trumpeters, viz. where the *Conarion* is: Wherefore, the *Percipient* itself, namely, the Soul, is in the midst of this Ring, as well as the *Conarion*, and therefore is *somewhere*. Assuredly, he that denies that he conceives the Force of this Demonstration, and acknowledges that the *Perception*, indeed, is at the extreme Parts of the said Lines, and in the Middle of the Ring of Trumpeters, but contends in the mean Time, that the *Mind* herself is not there, forasmuch as she is *no where*; this Man, certainly, is either delirant and crazed, or else plays Tricks, and slimly and obliquely insinuates, that the *Perception*, which is made in the *Conarion*, is to be attributed to the *Conarion* itself; and, that the *Mind*, so far as it is conceived to be an *incorporeal Substance*, is to be exterminated out of the Universe, as an useless Pigment and Chimera.

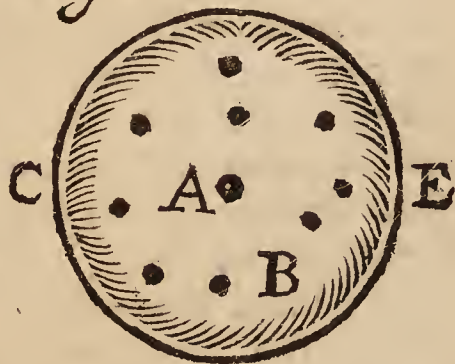
S E C T. XI.

The Explication of the Opinion of the Holenmerians, together with their two Reasons thereof, proposed.

AND thus much of the Opinion of the *Nullibists*. Let us now examine the Opinion of the *Holenmerians*, whose Explication is thus: Let there be what Body you please, suppose C, D, E, which the Soul, or Spirit, may possess and penetrate. The *Holenmerians* affirm, that the whole Soul, or Spirit, does occupy and possess the whole Body C, D, E, by its Essence; and that it is also wholly, or all of it, in every Part or Point of the said Body C, D, E, as in A, for Example, and in B, and the rest of the least Parts or Points of it: This is a brief and clear Explication of their Opinion.

BUT the Reasons that induce them to embrace it, and so stiffly to maintain it, are these two only, or, at least

Fig. 2. D



chiefly, as much as respects the *Helenmerism* of Spirits. The first is, that whereas they grant that the whole Soul does pervade and possess the whole Body, they thought it would thence follow, that the Soul would be divisible, unless they should correct again this Assertion of theirs, by saying, that it was yet so in the whole Body, that it was totally, in the mean Time, in every Part thereof; for thus they thought themselves sure, that the Soul could not thence be argued in any Sort divisible, or corporeal, but still remaining purely Spiritual.

THE other Reason is, That from hence, it might be easily understood, how the Soul, being in the whole Body, C, D, E, whatever happens to it in C, or B, it presently perceives it in A, because the whole Soul being perfectly and entirely, as well in C, or B, as in A; it is necessary, that after what Fashion soever C or B is affected, A should be affected after the same Manner; forasmuch as it is entirely and perfectly one and the same Thing, viz. the whole Soul, as well in C, or B, as in A. And, from hence, is that vulgar Saying in the Schools, *That if the Eye were in the Foot, the Soul would see in the Foot.*

S E C T. XX.

The Examination of the Opinion of the Helenmerians.

BUT now, according to our Custom, let us weigh and examine all these Things, in a free and just Balance. In this, therefore, that they assert, that the whole Soul is in the whole Body, and is all of it penetrated of the Soul by her Essence, and therefore seem willing to acknowledge a certain essential Amplitude of the Soul; in this, I say, they come near to us, who contend there is a certain *metaphysical* and *essential* Extension in all Spirits; but such as is ἀμεγέδους καὶ ἀμερῆς, devoid of Bulk or Parts; as Aristotle defines of his separate Substances. For there is no Magnitude, or Bulk, which may not be *physically* divided, nor any Parts properly, where there is no such Division. Whence the *metaphysical* Extension of Spirits is rightly understood not to be capable of either Bulk or Parts; and, in that Sense, it has no Parts, it cannot justly be said to be a Whole. In that, therefore, we plainly agree with the *Helenmerians*, that a Soul, or Spirit, may be said by its

Essence

Effence, to penetrate and possess the whole Body, C, D, E ; but, in this again, we differ from them, that we dare not affirm, that the whole Spirit, or whole Soul, does penetrate and possess the said Body, because that, which has not Parts, cannot properly be called a Whole ; tho' I will not over stiffly contend, but that we may use that Word for a more easy Explication of our Mind, according to that old trite Proverb, Ἀμαθῆς ἐργὸν πως εἰπεῖ καὶ σαφέστερον λέγει, *Speak a little more unlearnedly, that thou mayest speak more intelligibly or plainly.* But then we are to remember, that we do not speak *properly*, tho' more accommodately to the vulgar Apprehension, but *improperly*.

BUT now, when the *Holenmerians* add farther, That the whole Soul is in every Part or physical Point of the Body, D, C, E, in the Point A and B, and all the rest of the Points, of which the Body D, See Fig. 2. C, E, does consist, that seems an harsh Ex- Sect. II. pression to me, and such as may justly be deemed next door to an open Repugnancy and Contradiction ; for, when they say the whole Soul is in the whole Body D, C, E, if they understand the Effence of the Soul to be commensurate, and, as it were, equal to the Body D, C, E ; and yet, at the same Time, the whole Soul to be contained within the Point A or B, it is manifest, that they make one and the same Thing, many thousand Times, greater or less than itself, at the same Time ; which is impossible. But if they will affirm, that the *essential Ampli- tude* of the Soul is no bigger than what is contained within the physical Point A or B, but that the *essential Presence* of the Soul is diffused through the whole Body D, C, E, the Thing will succeed not a Jot the better ; for while they plainly profess, that the whole Soul is in the Point A, it is manifest, that there remains nothing of the Soul, which may be in the Point B, which is distant from A ; for it is as if one should say, that there is nothing of the Soul which is not included within A ; and yet, in the same Moment of Time, that not only something of the Soul, (which perhaps might be a more gentle Repugnancy) but that the whole Soul is in B, as if the whole Soul were totally and entirely out of itself ; which, surely, is impossible in any singular or individual Thing ; and, as for Universals, they are not Things, but Notions we use in contemplating them.

AGAIN, if the *essential Amplitude* of the Soul is no greater than what may be contained within the Limits of a physical Point, it cannot extend, or exhibit, its *essential Presence* through the whole Body, unless we imagine in it a stupendious Velocity ; such as it may be carried, within one Moment, into all the Parts of the Body, and so be present to them : Which when it is so hard to conceive, in this scant *Compages* of an humane Body, and in the Soul occupying, in one Moment, every Part thereof, what an outrageous Thing is it, and utterly impossible to apprehend, touching that Spirit which perpetually exhibits his *essential Presence* to the whole World, and whatever is beyond the World ?

To which, lastly, you may add, that this Hypothesis of the *Holenmerians* does necessarily make all *Spirits* the most *minute* Things that can be conceived : For if the whole Spirit be in every physical Point, it is plain that the *essential Amplitude* itself of the Spirit (which the two former Objections supposed) is not bigger than that physical Point in which it is, (which you may call, if you will, a *physical Monad*) than which nothing is, or can, be smaller in universal Nature ; which if you refer to any *created Spirit*, it cannot but seem very ridiculous ; but, if to the *Majesty* and *Amplitude* of the *divine Numen*, intolerable, that I may not say plainly reproachful and blasphemous.

S E C T. XIII.

A Confutation of the first Reason of the Holenmerians.

BUT now for the Reasons, for which the *Holenmerians* adhere to so absurd an Opinion ; verily, they are such as can no Way compensate those huge Difficulties and Repugnancies, the Opinion itself labours under. For, for the first, which so solicitously provides for the *Indivisibility* of *Spirits*, it seems to me, to undertake a Charge either *superfluous*, or *ineffectual*. *Superfluous*, if *Extension* can be without *Divisibility*, as it is clearly demonstrated it can, in that infinite immoveable Extension, distinct from the moveable Matter, *Enchirid. Metaphys.* cap. 6, 7, 8. But *ineffectual*, if all *Extension* be *divisible*, and the *essential Presence* of a *Spirit*, which pervades and is extended through the whole Body C, D, E, may, for that very Reason,

son, be *divided* ; for so the whole *Essence*, which occupies the whole Body C D E, will be divided into *Parts*. No, by no Means, will you say, forasmuch as it is wholly in every Part of the Body.

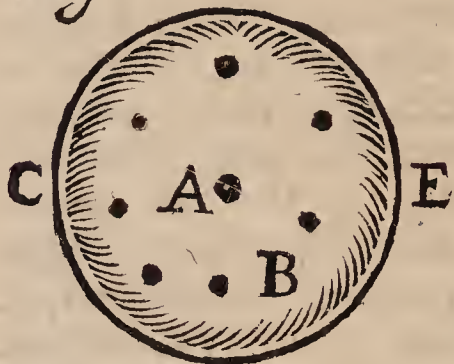
T H E R E F O R E it will be divided, if I may so speak, into Totalities. But what logical Ear can bear a Saying so absurd and abhorrent from all Reason, that a Whole should not be divided into Parts, but into Wholes ? But you will say, at least, we shall have this granted us, that an *essential Presence* may be distributed, or divided, according to so many distinctly sited *Totalities*, which occupy at once the whole Body C D E ; yes, verily, this shall be granted you, after you have demonstrated that a *Spirit*, not bigger than a *physical Monad*, can occupy, in the same Instant, all the Parts of the Body C D E ; but, upon this Condition, that you acknowledge not sundry *Totalities*, but one only *total Essence*, tho' the least, that can be imagined, can occupy that whole Space ; and, when there is Need, occupy, in an Instant, an infinite One ; which the *Holenmerians* must, of Necessity, hold, touching the divine Essence ; because, according to their Opinion taken in the second Sense (which pinches the whole Essence of a Spirit into the smallest Point) the divine Essence itself is not bigger than any *physical Monad*. From whence it is apparent, the three Objections, which we brought in the Beginning, do again recur here, and utterly overwhelm the first Reason of the *Holenmerians* : So that the Remedy is far more intolerable than the Disease.

S E C T. XIV.

A Confutation of the second Reason of the Holenmerians.

AND, truly, the other Reason which from this *Holenmerism* of Spirits pretends a more easy Way of conceiv-

Fig. 2. D



ing how it comes to pass, that the Soul, suppose in A, can perceive what happens to it in C, or B, and altogether in the same Circumstances, as if itself were perfectly and entirely in C, or B, when yet it is in A ; altho', at first Shew, this seems very plausible, yet if we look thoroughly into it, we shall find it far e-

nough from performing what it so fairly promises. For besides, that nothing is more difficult, or rather impossible to conceive, than that an Essence, not bigger than a physical Point, should occupy and possess the whole Body of a Man at the same Instant, this Hypothesis is moreover plainly contrary and repugnant to the very Laws of the Soul's Perceptions : For Physicians and Anatomists, with one Consent, profess, that they have found by very solid Experiments, that the Soul perceives only within the Head, and that, without the Head, there is no Perception : Which could by no Means be, if the Soul herself were wholly in the Point A, and the very self same Soul again wholly in the Point B, and C, nor any where, as to *essential Amplitude*, bigger than a *physical Monad* : For hence it would follow, that one and the same Thing would both perceive, and not perceive at once ; that it would perceive this or that Object, and yet perceive nothing at all ; which is a perfect Contradiction.

AND from hence, the Falsity of that common Saying is detected, *That if the Eye was in the Foot, the Soul would see in the Foot* ; whenas it does not so much as see in those Eyes, which it already hath, but somewhere within the Brain ; nor would the Soul, by an Eye in the Foot, see, unless by fitting Nerves, not unlike the optick Ones, continued from the Foot to the Head and Brain, where the Soul, so far as *perceptive*, inhabiteth. In the other Parts of the Body, the Functions thereof are only *vital*.

AGAIN,

AGAIN, such is the Nature of some Perceptions of the Soul, that they are fitted for the moving of the Body ; so that it is manifest, that the very self same Thing, which perceives, has the Power of moving and guiding of it ; which seems impossible to be done by this Soul ; which, according to the Opinion of the *Holenmerians*, exceeds not the Amplitude of a small physical Point, as it may appear, at the first Sight, to any whose Reason is not blinded with Prejudice.

AND, lastly, if it be lawful for the Mind of Man to give her Conjectures, touching the immortal *Genii*, (whether they be in Vehicles, or destitute of Vehicles) and touching their *Perceptions* and *essential Presences*, whether invisible, or those in which they are said sometimes to appear to mortal Men, there is none, surely, that can admit that any of these Things are compatible to such a Spirit as the *Holenmerians* describe. For how can a *metaphysical Monad*, that is to say, a spiritual Substance, not exceeding a physical Monad in Amplitude, fill out an *essential Presence*, bigger than a physical Monad, unless it be by a very swift Vibration of itself towards all Parts ; as Boys, by a very swift moving of a Fire-stick, make a fiery Circle in the Air by that quick Motion. But that Spirits, destitute of Vehicles, should have no greater *essential Presence*, than what is occupied of a naked and unmoved *metaphysical Monad*, or exhibited thereby, seems so absonous and ridiculous a Spectacle to the Mind of Man, that, unless he be depriv'd of all Sagacity and Sensibility of Spirit, he cannot but abhor so idle an Opinion.

AND, as for those *essential Presences*, according to which they sometimes appear to Men, at least equalizing humane Stature, how can a solitary *metaphysical Monad* form so great a Part of Air, or Æther, into humane Shape, or govern it being so form'd ? Or how can it perceive any external Object in this swift Motion of itself, and quick Vibration, whereby the *metaphysical Monad* is understood, of the *Holenmerians*, to be present in all the Parts of its Vehicle at once ? For there can be no Perception of the external Object, unless the Object, that is to be perceived, act with some Stay upon that which perceiveth. Nor, if it could be perceived by this *metaphysical Monad*, thus swiftly moved and vibrated towards all Parts at once, would it be seen in one Place, but in many Places at once ; and those, as it may happen, very distant.

S E C T. XV.

The egregious Falsity of the Opinions of the Hohenmerians and Nullibists, as also their Uselessness for any Philosophical Ends.

BUT, verily, I am ashamed to waste so much Time in refuting such meer Trifles and Dorages, which, indeed, are such, (that I mean of the *Nullibists*, as well as this other of the *Hohenmerians*) that we may very well wonder how such distorted and strained Conceits could ever enter into the Minds of Men, or by what Artifice they have so spread themselves in the World ; but that the Prejudices and Enchantments of Superstition, and stupid Admiration of Mens Persons, are so strong, that they may utterly blind the Minds of Men, and charm them into Dorage. But if any one, all Prejudice and Parts-taking being laid aside, will attentively consider the Thing as it is, he shall clearly perceive and acknowledge, unless all Belief is to be denied to the humane Faculties, that the Opinions of the *Nullibists* and *Hohenmerians*, touching *Incorporeal Beings*, are miserably false ; and not that only, but, as to any Philosophical Purpose, altogether useless. Forasmuch as out of neither Hypothesis there does appear any greater Facility of conceiving, how the *Mind* of Man, or any other *Spirit*, performs those Functions of *Perception* and of *Moving* of *Bodies*, from their being supposed *no where*, than from their being supposed *somewhere* ; or from supposing them *wholly in every Part* of a Body, than from supposing them only to occupy the whole Body by an *Essential* or *Metaphysical Extension* ; but, on the contrary, that both the Hypotheses do entangle and involve the Doctrine of *Incorporeal Beings* with greater Difficulties and Repugnancies.

WHEREFORE, there being neither *Truth* nor *Usefulness* in the Opinions of the *Hohenmerians* and *Nullibists*, I hope it will offend no Man, if we send them quite packing from our Philosophations touching an *Incorporeal Being*, or *Spirit*, in our delivering the true Idea or Notion thereof.

S E C T. XVI.

That those that contend, that the Notion of a Spirit is so difficult and imperscrutable, do not this, because they are of a more sharp and piercing Judgment than others, but of a Genius more Rude and Plebeian.

NOW I have so successfully removed and dissipated those two vast Mounds of Night and Mistiness, that lay upon the Nature of *Incorporeal Beings*, and obscured it with such gross Darkness; it remains that we open and illustrate the true and genuine Nature of them in general, and propose such a Definition of a *Spirit*, as will exhibit no Difficulty to a Mind rightly prepared and freed from Prejudice. For the *Nature* of a *Spirit* is very easily understood, provided one rightly and skilfully shew the Way to the Learner, and form to him true Notions of the Thing, insomuch, that I have often wonder'd at the superstitious Consternation of Mind in those Men, (or the Profaneness of their Tempers and innate Aversion from the Contemplation of Divine Things) who, if by chance they hear any one professing that he can, with sufficient Clearness and Distinctness, conceive the Nature of a Spirit, and communicate the Notion to others, they are presently startled and amazed at the Saying, and straightway accuse the Man of intolerable Levity or Arrogancy, as thinking him to assume so much to himself, and to promise to others, as no humane Wit, furnished with never so much Knowledge, can ever perform. And this I understand even of such Men, who yet readily acknowledge the *Existence* of *Spirits*.

BUT as for those that deny their *Existence*, whoever professes this Skill to them, verily, he cannot but appear a Man above all Measure vain and doating, no Man more unskilful and ignorant than he, that esteems the clear Notion of a Spirit so hopeless and desperate an Attempt; and that I shall plainly detect, that this high and boastful Profession of their Ignorance in these Things does not proceed from hence, that they have any more a sharp or discerning Judgment than other Mortals, but that they have more gross and weak Parts, and a shallower Wit, and such as comes nearest to the Superstition and Stupidity

ty of the rude Vulgar, who easilier fall into Admiration and Astonishment, than pierce into the Reasons and Notices of any difficult Matter.

S E C T. XVII.

The Definition of Body in General, with so clear an Explication thereof, that even they, that complain of the Obscurity of a Spirit, cannot but confess they perfectly understand the Nature of Body.

BUT now for those, who do thus despair of any true Knowledge of the Nature of a *Spirit*, I would intreat them to try the Abilities of their Wit in recognizing and thoroughly considering the Nature of *Body in General*, and let them ingenuously tell me, whether they cannot but acknowledge this to be a clear and perspicuous Definition thereof, viz. *That Body is Substance material of itself, altogether destitute of all Perception, Life, and Motion. Or thus, Body is a Substance material, coalescent or accruing together into one, by virtue of some other Thing, from whence that one, by Coalition, has or may have Life also, Perception and Motion.*

I DOUBT not but they will readily answer, that they understand all this (as to the Terms) clearly and perfectly; nor would they doubt of the Truth thereof, but that we deprive *Body* of all *Motion from itself*, as also of *Union, Life and Perception*. But that it is *Substance*, that is, a Being subsistent by itself, not a *Mode* of some Being, they cannot but very willingly admit, and that also it is a *material Substance* compounded of *physical Monads*, or at least of most *minute Particles* of *Matter*, into which it is divisible; and, because of their *Impenetrability*, impenetrable by any other *Body*, so that the *Essential and Positive* of a *Body* is, that it be *impenetrable* and *physically divisible* into *Parts*: But that it is *extended*, that immediately belongs to it, as it is a *Being*. Nor is there any Reason why they should doubt of the other Part of the *Differentia*, whenas it is solidly and fully proved in Philosophy, That *Matter* of its own Nature, or in itself, is endued with no *Perception, Life, nor Motion*. And besides, we are to remember, that we here do not treat of the *Existence* of Things, but of their intelligible *Notion and Essence*.

S E C T. XVIII.

The perfect Definition of a Spirit, with a full Explication of its Nature through all Degrees.

AND if the *Notion* or *Essence* is so easily understood in *Nature Corporeal* or *Body*, I do not see but in the *Species* immediately opposite to *Body*, viz. *Spirit*, there may be found the same Facility of being understood. Let us try therefore, and from the *Law of Opposites* let us define a *Spirit*, an *Immaterial Substance*, *intrinsically endued with Life, and the Faculty of Motion*. This slender and brief Definition, that thus easily flows without any Noise, does comprehend, in general, the whole Nature of a *Spirit*; which, lest, by reason of its *Exility* and *Brevity*, it may prove less perceptible to the Understanding, as a *Spirit* is to the Sight, I will subjoin a more full Explication, that it may appear to all, that this Definition of a *Spirit* is nothing inferior to the Definition of a *Body*, as to Clearness and Perspicuity. And that by this Method which we now fall upon, a full and perfect Knowledge and Understanding of the Nature of a *Spirit* may be attained to.

Go to therefore, let us take notice through all the Degrees of the *Definitum*, or *Thing defined*, what precise and immediate Properties each of them contain, from whence, at length, a most distinct and perfect Knowledge of the whole *Definitum* will discover itself. Let us begin then from the Top of all, and, first, let us take notice that a *Spirit* is *Ens*, or a *Being*, and from this very same, that it is a *Being*; that it is also *One*, that it is *True*, and that it is *Good*; which are the three acknowledged Properties of *Ens* in *Metaphysics*, that it exists *sometime*, and *somewhere*, and is in some Sort *extended*, as is shewn *Enchirid. Metaphys. Cap. 2. Sect. 10.* which three latter Terms are plain of themselves. And as for the three former, that *One* signifies undistinguished or undivided in and from itself, but divided or distinguished from all other, and that *True* denotes the Answerableness of the *Thing* to its own proper *Idea*, and implies right *Matter* and *Form* duly conjoined, and that, lastly, *Good* respects the Fitness for the End in a large Sense, so that it will
take

take in that Saying of Theologers, That God is his own End, are Things vulgarly known to *Logicians* and *Metaphysicians*. That these Six are the immediate Affections of Being, as Being, is made apparent in the above-recited *Enchiridion Metaphysicum*; nor is it requisite to repeat the same Things here. Now every *Being* is either *Substance*, or the *Mode* of *Substance*, which some call *Accident*: But that a *Spirit* is not an *Accident* or *Mode* of *Substance*, all in a Manner profess, and it is demonstrable from manifold Arguments, that there are *Spirits* which are no such *Accidents* or *Modes*; which is made good in the said *Enchiridion*, and other Treatises of Doctor *H. M.*

WHEREFORE the second Essential Degree of a Spirit is, that it is *Substance*. From whence it is understood to subsist by itself, nor to want any other Thing as a *Subject* (in which it may inhere, or of which it may be the *Mode* or *Accident*) for its subsisting or existing.

THE third and last Essential Degree is, that it is *Immaterial*, according to which it immediately belongs to it, that it be a *Being* not only *One*, but *one by itself*, or of its own intimate Nature, and not by another; that is, That though, as it is a *Being*, it is in some Sort extended, yet it is utterly *Indivisible* and *Indiscerpible* into real Physical Parts. And moreover, That it can *penetrate* the *Matter*, and (which the *Matter* cannot do) penetrate Things of its own Kind, that is, pass through Spiritual Substances. In which two Essential Attributes (as it ought to be in every perfect and legitimate Distribution of any *Genus*) it is fully and accurately contrary to its opposite *Species*, namely, to *Body*. As also in those immediate Properties, whereby it is understood to have *Life* intrinsically in *itself*, and the Faculty of *moving*; which in some Sense is true in all Spirits whatsoever, forasmuch as *Life* is either *Vegetative*, *Sensitive*, or *Intellectual*. One whereof, at least, every Spiritual Substance hath: As also the Faculty of *moving*; insomuch that every Spirit either moves itself by itself, or the Matter, or both, or at least the Matter, either mediately or immediately; or, lastly, both Ways. For so all Things moved are moved by God, he being the Fountain of all Life and Motion.

S E C T. XIX.

That from hence that the Definition of a Body is perspicuous, the Definition of a Spirit is also necessarily perspicuous.

WHEREFORE I dare here appeal to the Judgment and Conscience of any one, that is not altogether illiterate, and of a dull and obtuse Wit, whether this *Notion* or Definition of a *Spirit*, in General, is not intelligible and perspicuous, is not as clear, and every Way distinct, as the Idea or *Notion* of a *Body*, or of any Thing else whatsoever, which the Mind of Man can contemplate in the whole Compass of Nature. And whether he cannot as easily, or rather with the same Pains, apprehend the Nature of a *Spirit* as of *Body*, forasmuch as they both agree in the immediate *Genus* to them, to wit, *Substance*. And the *Differentiæ* do illustrate one another by their mutual Opposition ; infomuch, that it is impossible that one should understand, what is *Material Substance*, but he must therewith presently understand, what *Immaterial Substance* is, or what it is *not* to have *Life* and *Motion* of itself, but he must straitway perceive what it is *to have both in itself*, or to be able to communicate them to others.

S E C T. XX.

Four Objections which, from the Perspicuity of the Terms of the Definition of a SPIRIT, infer the Repugnancy of them one to another.

NOR can I divine what may be here opposed, unless haply they may alledge such Things as these, That although they cannot deny but that all the *Terms* of the *Definition* and *Explication* of them are sufficiently intelligible, if they be considered single, yet, if they be compared one with another, they will mutually destroy one another. For this *Extension* which is mingled with, or inserted into the Nature of a *Spirit*, seems to take away the *Penetrability* and *Indivisibility* thereof, as also its *Faculty* of

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of *thinking*, as its *Penetrability* likewise takes away its Power of *moving any Bodies*.

I. FIRST, *Extension* takes away *Penetrability*; because if one *Extension* penetrate another, of necessity either one of them is destroyed, or two equal *Amplitudes*, entirely penetrating one another, are no bigger than either one of them taken single, because they are closed within the same Limits.

II. SECONDLY It takes away *Indivisibility*; because, whatsoever is *extended* has *partes extra partes*, one Part out of another; and therefore is *divisible*: For neither would it have Parts, unless it could be divided into them. To which you may further add, that forasmuch as the Parts are *substantial*, nor depend one of another, it is clearly manifest; that, at least by the Divine Power, they may be separate, and subsist separate one from another.

III. THIRDLY, *Extension* deprives a *Spirit* of the Faculty of *thinking*, as depressing it down into the same Order that Bodies are. And that there is no Reason why an *extended Spirit* should be more capable of *Perception* than *Matter* that is *extended*.

IV. LASTLY, *Penetrability* renders a *Spirit* unable to move *Matter*; because, whenas, by reason of this *Penetrability*, it so easily slides through the *Matter*, it cannot conveniently be united with the *Matter* whereby it may move the same: For without some Union or Inherency (a *Spirit* being destitute of all *Impenetrability*) 'tis impossible it should protrude the *Matter* towards any Place.

THE Sum of which four Difficulties tends to this, that we may understand, that though this Idea or *Notion* of a *Spirit*, which we have exhibited, be sufficiently plain and explicate, and may be easily understood; yet, from the very Perspicuity of the Thing itself, it abundantly appears, that it is not the Idea of any *possible* Thing, and much less of a Thing *really existing*, whenas the Parts thereof are so manifestly repugnant one to another.

S E C T. XXI.

An Answer to the first of the Four Objections.

IBUT against as well the *Nullibists* as the *Hobbian*s, who both of them contend, that *Extension* and *Matter* is one and the same Thing, we will prove that the Notion or Idea of a *Spirit*, which we have produced, is a Notion of a Thing *possible*. And as for the *Nullibists*, who think we so much indulge to corporeal Imagination in this our Opinion of the *Extension* of Spirits, I hope on the contrary, that I shall shew that it is only from hence, that the *Hobbian*s and *Nullibists* have taken all *Amplitude* from *Spirits*, because their Imagination is not sufficiently defecated and depurated from the Filch and unclean Tinctures of *Corporeity*; or rather that they have their Mind overmuch addicted and enslaved to *material* Things, and so disordered, that she knows not how to expedite herself from gross corporeal Phantasms.

FROM which Fountain have sprung all those Difficulties, whereby they endeavour to overwhelm this our *Notion* of a *Spirit*; as we shall manifestly demonstrate by going through them all, and carefully perpending each of them. For it is to be imputed to their gross Imagination, That from hence, that two equal Amplitudes penetrate one another throughout, they conclude that either one of them must therewith perish, or that they, being both conjoined together, are no bigger than either one of them taken single. For this comes from hence, that their Mind is so illaqueated or lime-twigg'd, as it were, with the Ideas and Properties of corporeal Things, that they cannot but infect those Things also which have nothing corporeal in them with this material Tincture and Contagion, and so altogether confound this *Metaphysical* Extension with that Extension, which is *Physical*. I say, from this *Disease* it is, that the Sight of their Mind is become so dull and obtuse, that they are not able to divide that common Attribute of a Being, I mean *Extension Metaphysical*, from *special* Extension and *material*, and assign to *Spirits* their proper Extension, and leave to *Matter* her's. Nor according to that known Method, whether Logical or Metaphysical, by intellectual

Abstraction

Abstraction preſcind the *Generical* Nature of *Extension* from the aboveſaid *Species* or *Kinds* thereof. Nor laſtly, (which is another Sign of their Obtuſeneſs and Dulneſs) is their Mind able to *penetrate* with that *Spiritual* *Extension* into the *Extension Material*; but like a ſtupid Beaſt ſtands lowing without, as if the Mind itſelf were become wholly corporeal; and, if any Thing enter, they believe it periſhes rather, and is annihilated, than that two Things can, at the ſame Time, co-exiſt together in the ſame *Ubi*. Which are Symptoms of a Mind deſperately ſick of this corporeal Malady of *Imagination*, and not ſufficiently accuſtomed or exerciſed in the free Operations of the Intellectual Powers.

AND that alſo proceeds from the ſame Source, that ſuppoſing two *Extensions* penetrating one another, and adequately occupying the ſame *Ubi*, they, thus conjoined, are conceived not to be greater than either one of them, taken by itſelf. For the Reaſon of this Miſtake is, that the *Mind*, increaſed and ſwayed down by the *Imagination*, cannot together with the *Spiritual* *Extension* penetrate into the *Material*, and follow it throughout, but only places itſelf hard by, and ſtands without like a groſs ſtupid Thing, and altogether corporeal, for if ſhe could but, with the *Spiritual* *Extension*, inſinuate herſelf into the *Material*, and ſo conceive them both together as two really diſtinct *Extensions*, it is impoſſible but that ſhe ſhould therewith conceive them ſo conjoined into one *Ubi*, to be, notwithstanding, not a Jot leſs than when they are ſeparated and occupy an *Ubi* as big again; for the *Extension* in neither of them is diminished, but their *Situation* only changed, as it alſo ſometimes comes to paſs in one and the ſame *Extension* of ſome particular Spirits, which can dilate and contract their Amplitude into a greater or leſſer *Ubi*, without any Augmentation or Diminution of their *Extension*, but only by the Expansion and Contraction of it into another *Site*.

S E C T. XXII.

That, besides those THREE Dimensions which belong to all external Things, a FOURTH also is to be admitted, which belongs properly to SPIRITS.

AND that I may not dissemble or conceal any Thing, altho' all *Material* Things, consider'd in themselves, have *three* Dimensions only; yet there must be admitted in Nature a *Fourth*, which, fitly enough, I think, may be called *Essential Spissitude*; which, tho' it most properly appertains to those Spirits which can contract their Extension into a less *Ubi*, yet, by a less Analogy, it may be referred also to Spirits penetrating as well the *Matter*, as mutually *one another*, so that, wherever there are more Essences than one, or more of the same Essence in the same *Ubi*, than is adequate to the Amplitude thereof, there this *Fourth* Dimension is to be acknowledged, which we call *Essential Spissitude*.

WHICH, assuredly, involves no greater Repugnancy, than what may seem, at first View, to him that considers the Thing less attentively, to be in the other *three* Dimensions, namely, unless one would conceive, that a Piece of Wax stretched out, suppose, to the Length of an Ell, and afterwards rolled together into the Form of a Globe, loses something of its former Extension, by this its Conglobation; he must confess, that a Spirit, neither by the Contraction of itself into a less Space, has lost any Thing of its Extension or Essence, but, as in the abovesaid Wax, the Diminution of its Longitude is compensated with the Augmentation of its Latitude and Profundity; so in a Spirit, contracting itself, that in like Manner its Longitude, Latitude, and Profundity, being lessened, are compensated by *Essential Spissitude*, which the Spirit acquires by this Contraction of itself.

AND in both Cases we are to remember, that the *Site* is only changed, but that the *Essence* and *Extension* are not at all impaired.

VERILY, these Things by me are so perfectly every Way perceived, so certain, and tried, that I dare appeal to the Mind of any one which is free from the moral Pre-

judices of *Imagination*, and challenge him to try the Strength of his Intellectuals, whether he does not clearly perceive the Thing to be so as I have defined, and that *two* equal Extensions, adequately occupying the very same *Ubi*, be not *twice* as great as either of them alone, and that they are not closed with the same Terms as the *Imagination* falsely suggests, but only with equal.

NOR is there any Need to heap up more Words for the solving this first Difficulty; whenas what has been briefly said already abundantly sufficeth, for the penetrating their Understanding, who are prepossess'd with no Prejudice; for the piercing of theirs who are blinded with Prejudices, infinite will not suffice.

S E C T. XXIII.

An Answer to the second Objection, where the Fundamental Error of the Nullibists, viz. That whatsoever is extended is the Object of Imagination, is taken Notice of.

II. **L**ET us now try if we can dispatch the second Difficulty with the like Success, and see if it be not wholly to be ascribed to *Imagination*, that an *indiscerpible Extension* seems to involve in it any Contradiction, as if there could be no Extension, which has not Parts real and properly so called, into which it may be actually divided, *viz.* for this Reason, that only is *extended* which has *partes extra partes*, which, being *Substantial*, may be separated from one another, and thus separate subsist; this is the summary Account of this Difficulty, which nothing but corrupt *Imagination* supporteth.

NOW the first Source or Fountain of this Error of the *Nullibists* is this, that they make every Thing that is *extended* the Object of the *Imagination*, and every Object of the *Imagination Corporeal*. The latter whereof, undoubtedly, is true, if it be taken in a right Sense, namely, if they understand such a Perception, as is either simply and adequately drawn from external Objects; or by increasing, diminishing, transposing, or transforming of Parts (as in *Chimera's* and *Hippocentaur's*) is composed of the same. I acknowledge all these Ideas, as they were sometime some way Objects of *Sensation*, so to be the genuine Objects

jects of *Imagination*, and the Perception of these to be rightly termed the Operation of Fancy, and that all these Things, that are thus represented, necessarily are to be looked upon as *Corporeal*, and consequently as *actually Divisible*.

BUT that all *Perception* of *Extension* is such *Imagination*, that I confidently deny, forasmuch as there is an Idea of *infinite Extension* drawn or taken in from no external Sense; but is natural and essential to the very Faculty of perceiving; which the Mind can by no Means pluck out of herself, nor cast it away from her; but if she will rouse herself up, and, by earnest and attentive Thinking, fix her Animadversion thereon, she will be constrained, whether she will or no, to acknowledge, that, altho' the whole Matter of the World were exterminated out of the Universe, there would, notwithstanding, remain a certain subtile and immaterial Extension, which has no Agreement with that other material one, in any Thing, saving, that it is extended, as being such, that it neither falls under Sense, nor is impenetrable, nor can be moved, nor discerped into Parts; and that this Idea is not only possible, but necessary, and such as we, do not, at our Pleasure, feign and invent, but do find it to be so innate, and ingrafted in our Mind, that we cannot by any Force or Artifice remove it thence, which is a most certain Demonstration, that all *Perception* of *Extension* is not *Imagination*, properly so called.

WHICH, in my Opinion, ought to be esteemed one of the chiefest and most fundamental Errors of the *Nullibists*, and to which, especially, this Difficulty is to be referred, touching an *indiscerpible Extension*. For we see they confess their own Guilt, namely, that their Mind is so corrupted by their Imagination, and so immersed into it, that they can use no other Faculty in the Contemplation of any extended Thing, and, therefore, when they make Use of their Imagination, instead of their Intellect, in Contemplating of it, they necessarily look upon it as an Object of *Imagination*; that is, as a corporeal Thing, and *discerpible* into Parts, for, as I noted above, the Sight of their Mind, by Reason of this *Morbus uolens*, this *mysterious Disease*, if I may so speak, is made so heavy and dull, that it cannot distinguish any *Extension* from that

of Matter, as allowing it to appertain to another Kind; nor by *Logical* or *Metaphysical* Abstraction prescind it from either.

S E C T. XXIV.

That Extension, as such, includes in it neither Divisibility nor Impenetrability, neither Indivisibility nor Penetrability, but is indifferent to either two of those Properties:

AND from hence it is, that, because a Thing is *extended*, they presently imagine that it has *partes extra partes*, and is not *Ens unum per se & non per aliud*, a Being, one by itself, and not by Vertue of another, but so framed from the Juxtaposition of Parts, whenas the Idea of *Extension*, precisely consider'd in itself, includes no such Thing, but only a *trinal* Distance, or *solid* Amplitude, that is to say, not *linear* only and *superficiary*, (if we may here use those Terms which properly belong to Magnitude Mathematical) but every Way running out, and reaching towards every Part. This Amplitude surely, and nothing beside, does this bare and simple *Extension* include, not *Penetrability* nor *Impenetrability*, nor *Divisibility*, nor yet *Indivisibility*, but to either Affections or Properties, or, if you will, essential Differences, namely, to *Divisibility* and *Impenetrability*, or to *Penetrability* and *Indivisibility*; if consider'd in itself, it is altogether indifferent, and may be determined to either two of them.

WHEREFORE, whereas we acknowledge that there is a certain *Extension*, namely, *Material*, which is endued with so stout and invincible an *'Αντιρροπία*, or *Impenetrability*, that it necessarily, and, by an insuperable Renitency, expels and excludes all other Matter that occurs, and attempts to penetrate it, nor suffers it at all to enter, altho' in the simple Idea of *Extension*, this marvellous Vertue of it is not contained, but plainly omitted, as not at all belonging thereto, immediately, and of itself; why may we not as easily conceive that another *Extension*, namely, an *Immaterial* one, though *Extension* in itself include no such Thing, is of such a Nature, that it cannot by any other Thing, whether Material or Immaterial, be discerped into Parts; but by an indissoluble, necessary, and essential Tie, be so united and held together with itself, that,

that, although it can penetrate all Things, and be penetrated by all Things, yet, nothing can so insinuate itself into it, as to disjoin any Thing of its Essence any where, or perforate it, or make any Hole or Pore in it? That is, that I may speak briefly, What hinders, but that there may be a *Being*, that is immediately *One* of its own Nature, and held together into one, by Vertue of some other, either *Quality* or *Substance*? Although every Being, as a Being is *extended*, because *Extension*, in its precise Notion, does not include any *Physical Division*, but the Mind, infected with *corporeal Imagination*, does falsely and unskillfully feign it to be necessarily there.

S E C T. XXV.

That every Thing, that is extended, has not Parts Physically discernible, though Logically or Intellectually divisible.

FOR it is nothing which the Nullibists here alledge, while they say, That all Extension inferreth Parts, and all Parts Division. For, besides, that the first is false, forasmuch as *Ens unum per se*, a Being, one of itself, or of its own immediate Nature, although *extended*, yet includes no *Parts* in its Idea, but is conceived according to its proper Essence, as a Thing, as simple as may be, and therefore compounded of no *Parts*. We answer, moreover, That it is not at all prejudicial to our Cause, though we should grant that this *Metaphysical Extension* of Spirits is also divisible, but *Logically* only, not *Physically*; that is to say, is not *discernible*. But that one should adjoin a *Physical Divisibility* to such an Extension, surely, that must necessarily proceed from the Impotency of his *Imagination*, which his Mind cannot curb, nor separate herself from the Dregs and corporeal Foulness thereof; and, hence it is, that she tinctures and infects this Pure and Spiritual Extension, with corporeal Properties. But that an extended Thing may be divided *Logically* or *Intellectually*, when, in the mean time, it can by no Means be discerned, it sufficiently appears from hence, That a *Physical Monad* which has some Amplitude, though the least that possibly can be, is conceived thus to be divided

in a *Line*, consisting of any uneven Number of Monads, which, notwithstanding, the Intellect divides into two equal Parts. And, verily, in a *Metaphysical Monad*, such as the *Holenmerians* conceit the Mind of Man to be, and to possess in the mean time, and occupy the whole *Body*, there may be here again made a *Logical Distribution*, suppose, *e subjectis*, as they call it, so far forth, as this *Metaphysical Monad*, or *Soul* of the *Holenmerians*, is conceived to possess the Head, Trunk, or Limbs of the *Body*, and yet no Man is so delirant as to think that it follows from thence, that such a Soul may be *discerped* into so many Parts, and that the Parts, so discerped, may subsist by themselves.

S E C T. XXVI.

An Answer to the latter Part of the second Objection, which inferreth the Separability of the Parts of a substantial Extensum, from the said Parts being Substantial and Independent one of another.

FROM which, a sufficiently fit and accommodate Answer may be fetched to the latter Part of this Difficulty, namely, to that, which, because the Parts of Substance are *Substantial* and *Independent* one of another, and *subsisting by themselves* (as being *Substances*) would infer, that they can be *discerped*, at least, by the Divine Power, and disjoined, and, being so disjoined, subsist by themselves. Which, I confess, to be the chief Edge or Sting of the whole Difficulty, and, yet, such as I hope, I shall with ease file off or blunt. For, first, I deny, that in a Thing that is *absolutely One* and *Simple*, as a Spirit is, there are any *Physical* Parts, or Parts properly so called, but that they are only falsely feigned, and fancied in it, by the impure Imagination. But that the Mind itself being sufficiently defecated, and purged from the impure Dregs of Fancy, although, from some extrinsical Respect, she may consider a Spirit as having Parts, yet, at the very same Time, does she in herself, with close Attention, observe and note, that such an *Extension* of itself has none; and, therefore, whenas it has no Parts, it is plain, it has no *substantial* Parts, nor *independent* one of another, nor subsistent of themselves.

AND

AND then, as much as concerns those Parts which the stupid and impotent *Imagination* fancieth in a Spirit, it does not follow from hence, because they are *Substantial*, that they may *subsist separate* by themselves; for a Thing, to *subsist by itself*, only signifies so to subsist, that it wants not the Prop of some other *Subject* in which it may inhere as *Accidents* do, so that the Parts of a *Spirit* may be said to subsist by themselves, tho' they cannot subsist separate, and so be Substance still.

S E C T. XXVII.

That the mutual Independency of the Parts of an extended Substance may be understood in a twofold Sense; with an Answer thereto, taken in the first Sense thereof.

BUT what they mean by that *mutual Independency* of Parts, I do not fully understand; but I sufficiently conceive that one of these two Things must be hinted thereby, *viz.* Either that they are not *mutual* and effectual *Causes* one to another of their *Existing*, or that their *Existence* is understood to be connected by *no necessary Condition at all*.

AND, as for the former Sense, I willingly confess those Parts which they fancy, in a Spirit, are not mutual Causes of one another's *Existence*; but so, that in the mean time I do most firmly deny, that it will thence follow that they may be discerned, and, thus discern'd, be separately conserved, no more than the intelligible Parts of a *Physical Monad*, which is divided into two by our Reason or Intellect; which, surely, are no mutual Causes of one another's *Existence*, or the Members of the Distribution of a *Metaphysical Monad*, according to the Doctrine of the *Holmerians* (*viz.* The Soul totally being in every Part of the Body) which no Man in his Wits can ever hope that they may be discerned, although the said Members of the Division are not the mutual Causes of one another's *Existence*, for they are but one and the same Soul which is not the Cause of itself, but was wholly and entirely caused by God.

BUT you will say, that there is here manifestly a Reason extant and apparent, why these Members of the Distribution cannot be discerped, and discerp'd separately conversed, because one and the same indivisible Monad occurs in every Member of the Distribution, which, therefore, since it is a single one, it is impossible it should be discerped from itself. To which I on the other Side answer, That it is as manifestly extant and apparent how frivolously, therefore, ineptly Arguments are drawn from *Logical* or Intellectual Divisions, for the concluding a real Separability of Parts. And I add further, That as that fictitious *Metaphysical Monad* cannot be discerped or pluck'd in Pieces from itself, no more can any real Spirit, because it is a Thing *most simple* and *most absolutely One*, and which a *pure Mind*, darken'd and possessed with no Prejudices of *Imagination*, does acknowledge no real Parts at all to be in. For so it would *ipso facto* be a compound Thing.

S E C T. XXVIII.

An Answer to the Independency of Parts taken in the second Sense.

FROM whence an easie Entrance is made to the answering this Difficulty understood, in the second Sense of the *mutual Independency* of the Parts of a Spirit, whereby their Coexistence and Union are understood to be connected by *no necessary* Law or Condition. For that this is false, I do most constantly affirm without all Demur: For the Coexistences of the Parts, as they call them, of a Spirit, are connected by a Law or Condition *absolutely necessary* and plainly *essential*; Forasmuch as a Spirit is a *most simple* Being, or a Being *unum per se & non per aliud*; that is, *one of itself*, or of *its own Nature immediately so*, and not by another either *Substance* or *Quality*. For none of those Parts, as the *Nullibists* call them, can exist but upon this Condition, that all jointly and unitedly exist together; which Condition or Law is contained in the very Idea or Nature of every *Spirit*. Whence it cannot be created, or any Way produced, unless upon this

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Condition, that all its Parts be inseparably and indiscernibly one ; as neither a Rectangle Triangle, unless upon this Condition, that the Powers of the *Cathetus* and *Basis* be equal to the Power of the *Hypotenusa*. Whence the *Indiscernibility* of a *Spirit* cannot be removed from it, no not *Virtute Divina*, as the Schoolmen speak, no more than the above-said Property disjoined from a Rectangle Triangle. Out of all which, I hope, it is at length abundantly clear, that the *Extension* of a *Spirit* does not at all hinder the *Indiscernibility* thereof.

S E C T. XXIX.

An Answer to the third Objection touching the Inperceptivity of an extended Substance, viz. That whatever is, is extended, and that the NULLIBISTS and HOLLENMERIANS themselves cannot give a Reason of the perceptive Faculty in Spirits, from their Hypotheses.

III. **N**OR is it any Let (which is the third Thing) to the Faculty of *Perceiving* and *Thinking* in *Spirits* : For we do not thrust down a *Spirit*, by attributing *Extension* to it, into the Rank of *Corporeal Beings*, forasmuch as there is nothing in all Nature, which is not in some Sense *extended*. For whatever of *Essence* there is in any Thing, it either is or may be actually present to some Part of the Matter, and therefore it must either be *extended*, or be contracted to the Narrowness of a *Point*, and be a meer *Nothing* : For as for the *Nullibists* and *Hollenmerians*, the Opinions of them both are above utterly routed by me, and quite subverted and overturned from the very Root, that no Man may seek Subterfuges and lurking Holes there. Wherefore there is a Necessity that some Thing, that is *extended*, have *Cogitation* and *Perception* in it, or else there will be nothing left that has.

BUT for that which this Objection further urges, that there occurs no Reason, why an *extended Spirit* should be more capable of Perception than *extended Matter*, it is verily, in my Judgment, a very unlearned and unskilful Argutation. For we do not take all this Pains, demonstrating the *Extension* of a *Spirit*, that thence we might fetch
out

96 *The true Notion of a SPIRIT.*

out a Reason or Account of its Faculty of perceiving; but that it may be conceived to be some real Being, and true Substance, and not a vain Figment, such as is every Thing that has no Amplitude, and is in no Sort *extended*.

BUT those that so stickle and sweat for the proving their Opinion, that a Spirit is *no where*, or is *totally* in every Part of that *Ubi* it occupies, they are plainly engaged of all Right, clearly and distinctly, to render a Reason out of their *Hypothesis* of the *Perceptive Faculty* that is acknowledged in *Spirits*, namely, that they plainly and precisely deduce from hence, because a Thing is *no where* or *totally* in every Part of the *Ubi* it occupies, that it is necessarily endued with a Faculty of *perceiving* and *thinking*; so that the Reason of the Conjunction of *Properties* with the *Subject*, may be clearly thence understood.

WHICH, notwithstanding, I am very confident, they can never perform; And that *Perception* and *Cogitation* are the *immediate* Attributes of some Substance; and that therefore, as that Rule of Prudence, *Enchirid. Ethic. lib. 3. cap. 4. sect. 3.* declares, no Physical Reason thereof ought to be required, nor can be given, why they are in the Subject wherein they are found.

S E C T. XXX.

That from the Generical Nature of any Species, no Reason is to be fetch'd of the Conjunction of the Essential Difference with it, it being immediate.

BUT so we are to conclude, that as *Substance* is immediately divided into *Material* and *Immaterial*, or into *Body* or *Spirit*, where no Reason can be render'd from the Substance in *Spirit*, as it is Substance, why it should be *Spirit* rather than *Body*; nor from Substance in a *Body*, as it is Substance, why it should be *Body* rather than *Spirit*, but these *Essential Differences* are immediately in the Subject in which they are found: So the Case stands in the Subdivision of *Spirits*, into meerly *Plastical* and *Perceptive*, supposing there are Spirits that are meerly *Plastical*; and then of a *Perceptive Spirit* into meerly *Sensitive* and *Intellectual*. For there can be no Reason render'd touching a *Spirit*, as

a Spirit, in a Spirit meerly *Plastical*, why it is a Spirit meerly *Plastical*, rather than *Perceptive*: Nor in a *Perceptive Spirit*, why it is a *Perceptive Spirit*, rather than meerly *Plastical*. And lastly, in a *Perceptive Spirit Intellectual*, why it is *Intellectual*, rather than meerly *Sensitive*; and in the meerly *Sensitive Spirit*, why it is such, rather than *Intellectual*. But these *Essential Differences* are immediately in the *Subjects* in which they are found, and any *Physical* and *intrinsic* Reason ought not to be asked, nor can be given, why they are in those *Subjects*, as I noted a little above out of the said *Enchiridion Ethicum*.

S E B T. XXXI.

That although the Holenmerians and Nullibists can give no Reason, why that which perceives should be TOTALLY in every Part, or should be NO WHERE, rather than be in any Sort extended or somewhere, yet there are Reasons obvious enough, why an extended Spirit rather should perceive than extended Matter.

BUT however, though we cannot render a Reason why this or that *Substance*, as *Substance*, be a *Spirit* rather than a *Body*, or why this or that *Spirit* be *Perceptive*, rather than meerly *Plastical*; yet as the Reason is sufficiently plain, why *Matter* or *Body* is a *Substance* rather than *Accident*, so it is manifest enough, why that which perceives, or is *Plastical*, should be a *Spirit* rather than *Matter* or *Body*; which, surely, is much more than either the *Holenmerians* or *Nullibists* can vaunt of. For they can offer no Reason, why that which perceives should rather be *no where* than *somewhere*; or *totally* in each Part of the *Ubi* it does occupy, than otherwise, as may be understood from what we have said above.

BUT now since the *Matter* or *Body*, which is *Discernible* and *Impenetrable*, is destitute of itself of all *Life* and *Motion*, certainly it is consonant to Reason, that the *Species* opposite to *Body*, and which is conceived to be *Penetrable* and *Indiscernible*, should be intrinsically endued with *Life* in general and *Motion*. And whenas *Matter* is nothing else than a certain stupid and loose Congeries of
physical

Physical Monads, that the first and most immediate opposite Degree in this *indiscernible* and *penetrable* Substance, which is called *Spirit*, should be the Faculty of Union, Motion, and Life, in which all the *Sympathies* and *Synenergies*, which are found in the World, may be conceived to consist. From whence it ought not to seem strange, that that which is *Plastical* should be a Spirit.

AND now, as for *Perception* itself, undoubtedly all Mortals have either a certain confused Presage, or more precise and determinate Notion, that as that, whatever it is, in which the abovesaid *Sympathies* and *Synenergies* immediately are, so more especially that, to which belongs the Faculty of *Perceiving* and *Thinking*, is a Thing of all Things the most *subtile* and most *One* that may be.

WHEREFORE I appeal here to the Mind and Judgment of any one, whether he can truly conceive any Thing more *Subtile* or more *One* than the *Essence* or Notion of a *Spirit*, as it is immediately distinguished from *Matter*, opposed thereto. For can there be any Thing more *One*, than what has no Parts, into which it may be discerped? Or more *Subtile*, than what does not only penetrate *Matter*, but *itself*, or, at least, other Substances of its own Kind? For a Spirit can penetrate a Spirit, though Matter cannot penetrate Matter.

THERE is, therefore, in the very *Essence* of a *Spirit*, although it be *Metaphysically* extended, no obscure Reason, why all the *Sympathies* and *Synenergies*, why all *Perceptions*, and all Manner of *Cogitations* should be referred rather to it, by Reason of the *Unity* and *Subtility* of its Nature, than to *Matter*, which is so crass, that it is *impenetrable*; and is so far from *Unity* of *Essence*, that it consists of *juxtaposited* Parts. But I hope by this I have abundantly satisfied this third Difficulty.

S E C T. XXXII.

An Answer to the fourth Objection, as much as respects the Holenmerians and Nullibists, and all those that acknowledge that the Matter is created of God.

IV. **L**ET us go on, therefore, to the fourth and last, which, from the *Penetrability* of a *Spirit*, concludes its Unfitness for moving of Matter. For it cannot move Matter, but by impelling it; nor can it impel it, because it does so easily, without all Resistance, *penetrate* it. Here therefore again, *Imagination* plays her Tricks, and measures the Nature of a *Spirit* by the Laws of Matter, fancying a *Spirit* like some *Body* passing through an over-large or wide Hole, where it cannot flick, by Reason of the Laxness of the Passage.

But in the mean time, it is to be noted, that neither the *Holenmerians* nor *Nullibists* can of right object this Difficulty to us, whenas it is much more incredible, that either a *Mecaphysical Monad*, or any *Essence* that is *no where*, should be more fit for the moving Matter, than that which has some Amplitude, and is present also to the Matter that is to be moved. Wherefore we have now only to do with such Philosophers as contend, that the whole Universe consists of Bodies only: For as for those that acknowledge there is a God, and that Matter was created by him, it is not hard for them to conceive, that there may be a certain Faculty in the Soul, which in some Manner, tho' very shadowishly, answers to that Power in God of creating Matter; Namely, that as God, though the most pure of all Spirits, yet creates Matter the most gross of all Things; so created Spirits themselves may emit a certain *Material Vertue*, either spontaneously, or naturally, by which they may intimately inhere in the Subject Matter, and be sufficiently close united therewith. Which Faculty of Spirits, in the *Appendix to the Antidote against Atheism*, is called *ὑλοπάθεια*, the *Hylopathy* of Spirits, or a Power of affecting, or being affected by the Matter. But I confess that Answer is less fitly used, when we have to do with those who deny the Creating of Matter, and much more, when with those that deny there is a God.

S E C T. XXXIII.

An Answer to those that think there is nothing in the Universe but Matter or Body.

W H E R E F O R E, whenas we have to do with such infinite Adversaries; and so much estranged from all Knowledge and Acknowledgment of *Incorporeal Things*; verily, we ought to behave our selves very cautiously and circumspectly, and something more precisely to consider the Title of the Question; which is not, Whether we can, accurately discern and declare the Mode or Way that a Spirit moves Matter, but whether its *Penetrability* is repugnant with this Faculty of *moving* Matter. But now it is manifest, if a Spirit could be united, and as it were cohere with the Matter, that it might easily move Matter; forasmuch as, if there be at all any such Thing as a Spirit, it is, according to the common Opinion of all Men, to be acknowledged the true Principle and Fountain of all Life and Motion. Wherefore the Hinge of the whole Controversy turns upon this one Pin, Whether it be repugnant that any *Spirit* should be *united*; and as it were *cohere* with *Matter*, or by whatever Firmness or Fastening (whether permanent or momentaneous) be joined therewith.

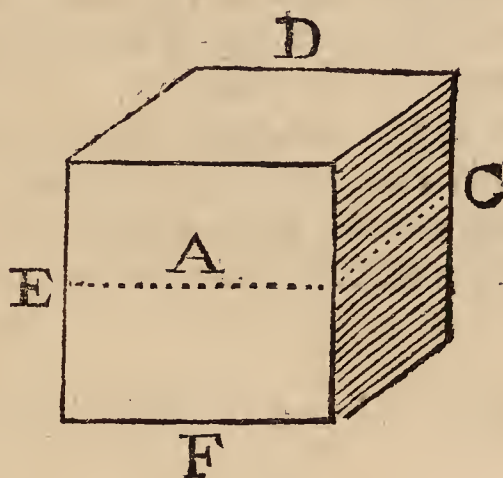
Now that it is not repugnant, I hope I shall clearly demonstrate from hence, that the *Union* of *Spirit* with *Matter* is as intelligible, as the *Union* of one *Part* of *Matter* with *another*. For that ought in Reason to be held an Axiom firm and sure, *That that is possible to be, in which there is found no greater (not to say less) Difficulty of so being, than in that which we really find to be.* But we see one Part of Matter really and actually united with another; and that in some Bodies with a Firmness almost invincible, as in some Stones and Metals, which are held to be the hardest of all Bodies. But we will, for the more fully understanding the Business, suppose a *Body* absolutely and perfectly *hard*, constituted of no Particles, but the very *Physical Monads* themselves; and without all Pores.

I ASK therefore here, By what Vertue, or by what Manner of Way, do the Parts of so perfect a *Solid* cohere? Undoubtedly they can alledge nothing here besides immediate *Contact* and *Rest*: For if they fly to any other Affections which are allied to Life and Sense, they are more rightly and more easily understood to be in a *Spirit* than in *Matter*; and we will presently pronounce that a *Spirit* may adhere to *Matter* by the same Vertues.

BUT that the *Parts* of *Matter* cohere by bare, tho' immediate *Contact*, seems as difficult, if not more difficult, than that a *Spirit* penetrating *Matter* should cleave together into one with it: For the *Contact* of the *Parts* of *Matter* is every where only superficial, but one and the same *indiscerpible Spirit* penetrates and possesses the whole *Matter* at once.

NOR need we fear at all, that it will not inhere, because it can so easily slide in, and therefore, as it may seem, slide thro' and pass away.

FOR in a Body perfectly solid, suppose *A*, in which we will conceive some particular Superficies, suppose *E*, *A*, *C*; this Superficies *E*, *A*, *C*, is assuredly so glib and smooth, that there can be nothing imagined more smooth and glib, wherefore why does not the upper Part of this solid Cube *C*, *D*, *E*, by any the slightest Impulse,



slide upon the inferior Part of the Cube *E*, *F*, *C*, especially, if the inferior Part *E*, *F*, *C*, be held fast, while the superior is impelled or thrust forward, surely, this Easiness of the sliding of Bodies perfectly smooth and glib, which touch immediately one another, their Easiness, I say, of sliding one upon another, does seem at least as necessary to our *Imagination*, as the Proclivity of the passing of a *Spirit* through the Bodies it penetrates. Wherefore if two Parts of *Matter*, suppose *E*, *D*, *C*, and *E*, *F*, *C*, which our *Imagination* doth most urgently suggest to us, that they will always with the least Impulse slide one upon another, do yet, notwithstanding, adhere to one another with a most firm

firm and almost invincible Union, why may not then a Spirit, which our *Imagination* suspects will so easily pass through any Body, be united to a Body with equal Firmness? Whenas this is not more difficult than the other, yea, rather much more easie, if one would consider the Thing as it is, laying aside all Prejudice. But now since the *Penetrability* of a Spirit is not repugnant with its *Union* with *Matter*, it is manifest that its Faculty of moving Body is not at all repugnant with its *Penetrability*. Which is the Thing that was to be demonstrated.

BUT it half repents me that I have, with so great Preparation and Pomp, attacked so small a Difficulty, and have striven so long with meer Elusions and prestigious Juggles of the *Imagination*, (which casts such a Mist of fictitious Repugnancies on the true Idea of a Spirit) as with so many Phantoms and Spectres of an unquiet Night. But in the mean time I have made it abundantly manifest, that there are no other Contradictions or Repugnancies in this our Notion of a Spirit, than what the Minds of our Adversaries, polluted with the impure Dregs of *Imagination*, and unable to abstract *Metaphysical Extension* from *Corporeal Affections*, do foully and slovenly clart upon it, and that this Idea, look'd upon in itself, does clearly appear to be a Notion, at least, of a Thing *possible*; which is all that we drive at in this Place:

SECT.

S E C T. XXXIV.

How far the Notion of a Spirit, here defended, is countenanced and confirmed by the common Suffrage of all Adversaries.

AND that it may appear more plausible, we will not omit in the last Place to take notice, how far it is countenanced and confirmed by the common Suffrage of our Adversaries: For the *Hobbi*ans, and whatever other Philosophers else of the same Stamp, do plainly assent to us in this, That whatsoever really is, is of necessity *extended*. But that they hence infer, that there is nothing in Nature but what is *corporeal*, that truly they do very unskillfully and inconsequently collect, they by some Weakness or Morbidity of Mind tumbling into so foul an Error. For it is impossible that the Mind of Man, unless it were laden and polluted with the Dregs and Dross of *corporeal Imagination*, should suffer itself to sink into such a gross and dirty Opinion.

BUT that every Thing that is, is extended, the *Nullibists* also themselves seem to me to be near the very Point of acknowledging it for true and certain, for they do not dissemble it, but that, if a *Spirit* be *some where*, it necessarily follows that it is also *extended*. And they moreover grant, that by its *Operation* it is present to, or in the *Matter*, and that the *Essence* of a *Spirit* is not *separated* from its *Operations*.

BUT that a Thing should be, and yet not be any where in the whole Universe, is so wild and mad a Vote, and so absonous and abhorrent from all Reason, that it cannot be said by any Man in his Wits, unless by Way of Sport, or some slim Jest, as I have intimated above; whence their Case is the more to be pitied, who, captivated and blinded with Admiration of the said Author of so absurd an Opinion, so solemnly and seriously embrace, and diligently endeavour to polish the same.

AND lastly, as for the *Holenmerians*, those of them, who are more cautious and considerate, do so explain their Opinion, that it scarce seems to differ an Hair's Breadth from ours. For they affirm that the Soul is in every Part, yet they say they understand it not of the *Quantity* or

Extension of the Soul, whereby it occupies the whole Body, but of the *Perfection* of its *Essence* and *Vertue*, which, however true it may be of the *Soul*, it is most undoubtedly true of the *Divine Numen*, whose Life and Essence is most perfect, and most full every where, as being such as every where contains *infinite Goodness, Wisdom, and Power*.

T H U S we see, that this Idea, or Notion of a Spirit, which is here exhibited to the World, is not only *possible* in itself, but very *plausible* and *unexceptionable*, and such as all *Parties*, if they be rightly understood, will be found, whether they will or no, to contribute to the Discovery of the Truth and Solidity thereof; and therefore is such, as will not unusefully, nor unseasonably, conclude this First Part of *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, which treats of the *Possibility* of *Apparitions* and *Witchcraft*, but make the Way more easy to the Acknowledgment of the Force of the Arguments of the Second Part, viz. The many *Relations* that are produced, to prove the *actual Existence* of Spirits and Apparitions.



A N
A N S W E R
T O A
L E T T E R
O F A

Learned P S Y C H O P Y R I S T,

Concerning the *True Notion* of a *Spirit*, Exhibited
in the foregoing Discourse.

W H E R E I N,

Both their Notions are compar'd, and the Notion in the
said Discourse defended ; and many Things discussed and
cleared, for more full Satisfaction, touching the Nature of
a S P I R I T.

By H E N R Y M O R E, D. D.



TO THE
READER.

READER,

HAVING, in the foregoing Discourse, sufficiently declared, impartially discussed, and, as I hope, solidly confuted the Opinions of the Hohenmerians and Nullibists; I thought it not amiss, to exhibit also to thy View the Opinion of the Psychopyrists, (for so rather I call them, than Pneumatopyrists; because the Word is more compendious, and less sonorous, and may bear the same Sense, $\psi\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$, as well as $\pi\nu\epsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$, signifying Spirare, whence the Latin Word Spiritus is, and our English, Spirit. Not to add that all created Spirits, and they only, are here meant, are $\psi\chi\alpha\iota$ in all Probability, and actuate some Matter or other) I thought fit, I say, to acquaint thee with the Opinion of these

H 3 Psy-

TO THE READER.

Psychopyrists, Philosophers that make the Essence or Substance of all created Spirits to be Fire, for so the Word Psychopyrist signifies.

IT is an Opinion, which I have had no Occasion to meddle with, since my Juvenile Altercations with Eugenius Philalethes, which is now many Years ago. He, being a Chymist, made the Soul Fire, as Aristoxenus, the Musician and Philosopher, made it an Harmony; of whom Cicero wittily observes, *Quod non recessit ab arte sua*, which is as appositely said of Eugenius the Chymist. I was so confident in those Days, that no Matter whatever was capable of Cogitation; that, whenas that Author avouched the Soul to be Fire, and excused it by adding, he meant an intelligent Fire: I, according to the Sportfulness of my Pen at that Age, told him, That he might as well have said the Soul was a Post, and then excused it again by adding, he meant an intelligent Post. Something, to that Purpose, I remember I replied, for I have not reviewed those Writings this many a Year.

BUT, in this Answer, thou art not, Reader, to expect any such Horse-Play; neither my Age, nor the Quality of the Party, who may seem to have espoused this Opinion will bear any such Thing. And, besides, that Opinion is not to be thought so ridiculous and contemptible, which the greatest Wits, and gravest Authors, may seem to have owned. Virgil, the Prince of Poets, and a great Platonist, so expresseth himself, as if he held the Soul to be Fire, in these Verses; where, speaking of the Souls of Men, he says,

Ignæus

TO the READER.

*Ignæus est ollis vigor & Cœlestis Origo
Seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant
Terreniq; hebetant artus moribundaq; membra.*

*AND, in another Place, speaking of the Purga-
tion of human Souls after Death, he says they are so
and so exercised,*

*Donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe
Concretam exemit labem purumq; reliquit,
Æthereum sensum atq; aurai simplicis ignem.*

*ADD unto this, that the Chaldee and Magick
Oracles call the Soul πῦρ φαιδὸν lucid Fire, and ab-
stain not from pronouncing, that all Things proceed
ἐξ ἑνὸς πυρὸς; from that one Fire, which is God, as
if that Spirit of Spirits, or Father of all Spirits, were
Fire. Nay, the Greek Fathers, as he alledges for
himself, are so confident of the Notion, that they di-
vide Fire, without any more to do, into Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative, so that it can be no Blemish
to any one's Reputation, to be found amongst such
choice Company.*

*BESIDES that, it is to be considered, that he
who is here stiled Psychopyrist, because he seems to
be an Espouser of this Opinion, is not so to be un-
derstood, as if he made this ordinary, crass, and vi-
sible Fire the Essence of a Spirit, but that his Mean-
ing is more subtle and refined. But what it is, you
will best understand by reading the following Answer
to his Letter. For this Argument is one remarkable
Part thereof; and, if I be not mistaken, there are
several others will occur not unworthy thy Considera-
tion,*

TO THE READER.

tion, which to particularize in is needless, and will swell the Gates over-proportionately to the City. Wherefore, Reader, I will detain thee no longer, but leave thee to a candid Perusal of the ensuing Answer, and so bid thee Farewel.

HENRY MORE.





A N
A N S W E R
T O A
Psychopyrist's Letter.

That though the learned Psychopyrist, and the Author, be agreed in the Fundamentalis Conceptus of a Spirit, that it is a Substance, yet they disagree in the Conceptus Formalis thereof.

S I R,

I H A V E abstain'd from writing to you, till now, because I had a Mind to get a Book into my Hands, to peruse some Things in it, before I writ, which I got but a Day or two ago. But now I shall answer, to avoid all Tedioufness to you or myself, with all Brevity I can, in the noting where we agree, and where we differ, in the Notion of a *Spirit* in general, or the adequate Definition thereof. For out of the two inadequate *Conceptus*'s, as you call them (and I intend to use your Phrases all along, which are such as occur in the Writings of Mr. R. B. as the Notions also, in your Letter, are very like the Notions in Judge *Hale's* Writings and his) out of those two *Conceptus*'s, I say, one adequate *Conceptus* does result, which must reach all Spirits, and none but Spirits, or else we miss our Mark. Now for the first inadequate *Conceptus*, which you call *Conceptus Fundamental*is, and
ac-

acknowledge to be *Substance*, we are both agreed, that it is *Substance*. But the *Conceptus Formalis*, whereby it is distinguished from all *Substance* that is not *Spirit*, that we do not seem to hit on alike. For unless all whatever is, is *Spirit*, we are to give such a *Substance* to *Spirit*, as is specifically opposite to all other *Substances* in the Universe, besides itself, or else we do nothing. Now, I demand, whether there be not *Matter* in the World, as well as *Spirit*, and whether the immediate, known, and universally acknowledged Notion of *Matter* be not real *Divisibility*, and *Impenetrability* of its Parts, one to another. This is *Body* or *Matter*, according to the common Notion of Philosophers, τὸ τελεῖον σώμαλον ἀνθρώπου. And if this be the immediate Character of *Matter*, it naturally and logically follows, that the immediate Character of its opposite Species, *Spirit*, must be *Indivisibility* and *Penetrability*. And, therefore, those essential Characters must be a Part of the *Conceptus Formalis* of a *Spirit*, whereby it is distinguished from *Body* or *Matter*. So that two *Substances*, *Matter* and *Spirit*, stand opposite one to another, specifically distinct by their immediate, essential, and inseparable Attributes, the one being really *discerpible* and *impenetrable*, the other *penetrable* and *indiscerpible*, sufficiently thus to be discriminated, before we consider any Principle of *Activity* in either. And thus much being conceded, that there are these two Kinds of *Substances* in the World, so described, I appeal to any Man's Faculties, whether, of the two, *Spirit* be not the more likely to be the Fountain of all Life and Motion, and *Matter* a meerly *passive* Principle; that is to say, unactive of itself, nor moved, but as the other Principle moves it, and modifies it. And therefore, that the true Notion of a *Spirit*, in general, is what I have set down Sect. 18. viz. *An Immaterial* (which is, a *penetrable* and *indiscerpible*) *Substance*, *intrinsically* *endued with Life and Motion*. Whatever is this, is *Spirit*, and whatever *Substance* is not this, is no *Spirit*, but *Matter*. And, that Life and Motion, and Sympathy and Synergy, should intrinsically result from a *Substance*, that is so much *one* as to be *indiscerpible*, and so subtile, as to be, in such Sort, *penetrable*, as is there described, rather than from *Matter* that is the contrary, how rational it is, I have intimated in Sect. 31. which Section is worth one's serious Consideration and Attention.

THUS therefore it is, that though we both agree in the *Conceptus Fundamentalis* of a *Spirit* in general, that it is *Substance*, yet we differ in the *Conceptus Formalis*, in that you miss that Part, which is first and most immediate in the Specification of it, which includes its *Penetrability* and *Indiscerpibility*, that which makes it *Ens unum per se & non per aliud*, which every Thing, that is not a Spirit, is, viz. *Ens unum per aliud*, a Thing held together in one, by vertue of something else, not immediately of its own Essence becoming one, and therefore is *discerpible*, and one Part separable from another.

S E C T. II.

A threefold Faultiness in the Psychopyrist's Conceptus Formalis of a Spirit; one of which, not only a Mistake, but a Mischief: And, of the Necessity of a Spirit's Penetrability, as well as Indiscerpibility; and, how natural it is to conceive, that, from such a Substance, do issue the Operations of Life.

WHEREFORE your *Conceptus Formalis* of a *Spirit* in general, viz. *Virtus vitaliter activa, perceptiva, & appetitiva*, seems to me faulty upon a threefold Account. First, in that it leaves out what is contained in the *Conceptus Formalis* of a *Spirit* in general; namely, its *Penetrability* and *Indiscerpibility*. And, secondly, in that it puts, into this *Conceptus Formalis* of a *Spirit*, more than we can rationally assure ourselves to be in every Spirit, viz. *Perception*: For we have no Assurance, that a *Plastick Spirit* has *Perception*, but may well be assured, that, *quatenus Plastick*, it has none, otherwise the Soul would perceive the Organization of her own Body. And, thirdly and lastly, I do not easily assent to that Conceit of a Trinity in this *Conceptus Formalis*, which you make to consist in *Virtute una-trina, vitali, appetitiva, & perceptiva*: Which make three no more than *Animal, Homo, and Brutum* make three, or *Cupiditas, Desiderium & Fuga*.

BUT this is but an harmless Mistake, but the Omission of *Immaterial*, in your *Conceptus Formalis*, or which is all one, of *Penetrability* and *Indiscerpibility*, is not only a Mistake but a Mischief; it implying, that the *Virtus appetitiva*, and *perceptiva*, may be in a Substance, though
Material,

Material, which betrays much of the Succours that Philosophy affords to Religion, in the Points of the Existence of a God, and Immortality of the Soul, if it were true : But, that *Materia, qualitercumque modificata*, is incapable of Perception ; both the *Cartesians* all affirm, and I have, I think, abundantly demonstrated in my Writings.

IN this Thing, therefore, you and I fundamentally differ, in that you omit, but I include *Penetrability* and *Indiscernibility*, in the *Conceptus Formalis* of a *Spirit*. So that nothing can be a Spirit, that has them not in the Sense that I declare. *Spirit* must be *Penetrative* of Spirit and of *Matter*, as well as *Indiscernible*, else would it be more hard, than any Flint ; but its *Penetrability* makes it more pliant and subtile, than the subtilest Matter imaginable. And, to a Substance of such an *Oneness* and *Subtility*, is rationally attributed whatever *Activity*, *Sympathy*, *Synenergy*, *Appetite*, and *Perception*, is found in the World, as I noted above. Here, therefore, is the most notorious Difference betwixt us, in which I am the more concerned, because it is not only a Mistake, but a Mischief, as I said before. But I proceed.

S E C T. III.

That he that does not admit a Distinction of Substance, into Material and Immaterial, antecedent to vital Powers and Operations, cannot pretend, out of any vital Virtues or Powers, to be better acquainted with Spirit than Matter.

YOU say, you are yourself far better acquainted with the Nature of a Spirit, by that essential *Virtus Formalis* (namely, by that *Una-trina Virtus* abovenam'd) than from the Notion of Substantiality. But I demand here, you omitting that Part of the *Conceptus Formalis*, which I contend for, how does it appear, that you do not entertain *Matter* for the Substantiality of this *Virtus Formalis*, and so embrace a Cloud, instead of *Funo*, some modified Body, instead of a pure Spirit ? No one can pretend to be better acquainted with a Spirit by that *Una-trina Virtus Formalis*, but he that can prove, that those Virtues are incompatible to *Matter*, and so withal, that there are two distinct Kinds of Substances in the Universe, *Spirit*, and *Body* or *Matter*, and that opposite Attributes are to be given

given to these opposite Species, and, consequently, that *Matter* or *Body* being *discerpible*, a *Spirit* ought to be *indiscerpible*, and *Body* being *impenetrable*, according to the common Tenet of Philosophers, *Spirit* should be *penetrable*. And lastly, *Matter* being dead, and passive, *Spirit* should be the Source of Life and Activity. If this be not an easie, natural, and sound Method of Philosophising, I appeal to any one's Judgment.

S E C T. IV.

What Confusion and Repugnancy it is to make Self-motion, or Intrinsick Vitality, Part of the Conceptus Formalis of a Spirit, and yet to attribute it to some Matter. And what a slippery Business, to put Natures Active and Passive, instead of Immaterial and Material.

BUT say you, *And yet I dare not say that a Self-moving Principle is proper to a Spirit.* But Aristotle did not stick to say so, who made the Matter a meer passive Principle. And surely, if a Man will follow the common Sentiments of humane Nature, if he acknowledge a *Spiritual* Substance distinct from the *Material*, he will give *Activity* to the one, and *Passivity* or *Actuability* to the other. It is a strange Force and Distortion to the Faculties of the Mind to do otherwise. But you hold on, *Nor do I consent to Campanella, De Sensu Rerum, and Dr. Glisson that would make all Things alive by an essentiating Form in the very Elements.* Here I desire you to consider, if any Matter have Life and Motion in itself, whether all has not, though variously modified. And whether it be fair Play thus, when there is no Reason for it, to make Fish of one, and Flesh of another. All the Matter of the natural World the common Consent of most Philosophers hath made of one Species, which it would not be, if Part were *self-moved*, Part *not*.

BESIDES, when you include *Life*, (of which *Self-motion* certainly is an Effect) in the *Conceptus Formalis* of a *Spirit*; is not this an horrible Confusion or Repugnancy to say, it is *not proper* to a *Spirit*, and consequently may belong to *Matter*? That which is included in your *Conceptus Formalis*, which is the *specifick* Difference of the Thing, is proper to that Thing, and therefore cannot be

be communicated to another. Wherefore we are to deny *Self-motion* in the *Matter itself* every where, as not belonging thereto, but to Spirit. But it follows,

I distinguish Nature into Active and Passive, and Passivity serveth me as well as Materiality. But I desire to know, why it should serve your Turn as well as Materiality, whenas it is of more Laxness and Uncertainty, and therefore may serve you a slippery Trick. But Materiality is a Notion more strict, distinct, and steady, and belongs only to one Kind of Things, that is to say, to Things Material, but Passivity to Things Immaterial, as well as Material. But you hold on.

S E C T. V.

That the Learned Psychopyrist need not be in Despair of knowing, whence the Descensus gravium is, whether from an innate Principle in the heavy Bodies themselves, or from some Spirit, sith the Author of the Discourse, touching The true Notion of a Spirit, has so plainly demonstrated the latter in his Writings.

BUT whence the Descensus gravium is, I despair of knowing. If you mean, whether it be from an innate Principle of the heavy Things themselves, or from some Immaterial Principle that moves the Matter of the World, I will adventure to tell you, the Thing is not so desperate as you fancy, but be of good Courage? for it is demonstrable, that the *Descensus gravium* is not from any Principle springing from their own Matter, but from an Immaterial Principle distinct therefrom, which Principle, to be the Mover of the Matter of the Universe, I have over and over again demonstrated in my *Enchiridion Metaphysicum*; and particularly, which was a main Point betwixt that excellent Person Judge *Hales* and myself, in the Raising of a wooden Rundle from the Bottom of a Bucket of Water.

I WILL give you that Instance, for many, which I desire you to canvas from the very first Rise of it, *Enchirid. Metaphys. Cap. 13. Sect. 4. 7, 8.* reading, for Sureness, all the *Scholia* upon that Chapter, *Volum. Philosoph. Tom. 1. p. 219, 220, 221, &c.* where all the Objections of *Christophorus Sturmius* are answered, against this *Principium Hylar-*

Hylarchicum. And if you be not yet satisfied, which I think it is impossible for any one not to be, that understands what I have writ; read page 363. my *Adnotamentum viceffimum in Tentamen de Gravitatione*, &c. and my *Scholia* upon that *Adnotamentum*, p. 369, 370. &c. where you shall find that excellent Person, whose Philosophy, notwithstanding, much symbolizes with that which you seem to embrace very handsomely, but covertly to give up the Cause, and acknowledge my Experiment of the two *Hydrostatical* Buckets to perform the Feat they are brought for, see p. 370. l. 13. and so on; and if you read all the *Scholia* till page 373, and set yourself distinctly to understand, you will be convinc'd, whether you will or no.

AND that nothing may be wanting to undeceive you, read that little Treatise whose Title is, *Philosophematum eruditi Authoris Difficilium Nugarum de Principiis Motuum Naturalium, sive de Essentiis Mediis & de modo Rarefactionis & Condensationis, Examinatio*, where I answer also to no less than Nine or Ten Objections of that worthy Author against my *Spirit of Nature*; and I doubt not, but if he had lived to read what I have writ, he would have been wholly of my Mind, and relinquish that Way of Philosophizing, which you, as well as he, seem to be entangled in, being thus offered more clear Light; but I hold on with your Letter.

S E C T VI.

That if there be an innate Self-moving Principle in the Matter of heavy Bodies, their Resting, when they are come to the Earth, does not excuse them from participating of the Conceptus Formalis of a Spirit. And that there may be as much Vitality in Fixedness, as in Flitting. The vast Difference still remaining betwixt the Psychopyrist and the Author of the True Notion of a Spirit, touching the Conceptus Formalis.

AND if it be true, say you, of an innate Principle, I call it not therefore a Spirit, because it is but *passivorum motus aggregativus ad unionem in quiete*, when Spirits Motion is Vital, and so essential to them, that they tend not to Union in Quiescence, but in everlasting Activity; Quiescence in Inactivity being as much against their Nature,

ture, as Motion against a Stone. To which I say, (1.) If the *Descensus gravium* be from an *Innate Principle*, that is to say, that the Matter there moves itself (and if you are for *Essentiæ mediæ*, as the abovementioned Author is, I have abundantly confuted them in my *Examination*) you adjoin the Property of a Spirit to Matter, as I noted above, which is a plain Repugnancy, that any Part of the *Formalis Conceptus* of one *Species* should be an Attribute in its *opposite Species*, this breaks in Pieces all the Bands of Logick. (2.) It is not here *mere passivorum motus*, but heavy Bodies moving themselves, as is supposed; they are as much *active* as *passive*, and are no otherwise *passive* in this Point, but as they act upon themselves, and Spirits, properly so called, are *passive* in that Sense. So that an heavy Body is made a Mungril Kind of Thing upon this Account, a *Chimæra* or *Centaur*. For look upon its *Self-activity*, and it looks like a *Spirit*, look upon its *Materiality* (for it is mere *Matter*, actuating itself according to this *Hypothesis*) and it is no other than a *Body*. (3.) If they be self-moved, it matters not to what they tend, *Body* in the mean time has the Property of a *Spirit*, as I said before. And Fourthly and Lastly, That Stones and other Bodies rest upon the Earth, is not by a torpid Inactivity in them, for their torpid Inactivity would not excuse them from being flung off by the circular Motion of the Earth on its Poles, as I have plainly demonstrated in my *Enchiridion Metaphysicum*; but what brings them thither, detains them there, *viz.* the *Hylastatick Spirit* of the Universe, whose detaining them is as *vital* and *positive*, as his bringing them thither. And there is as much Activity in Fixedness of Thoughts, as in discursive Flitting from one Thing to another. Thus mistakenly is that *vital* Operation given to heavy Bodies, that belongs to the *Spirit* of the World. And if you conceit this Motion, or Fixation, in the heavy Bodies themselves, in that they defend themselves from being cast off from the Earth by the Diurnal Motion thereof, it is as positive *Vitality* in them, as their Descent to the Earth. As there is as much Life and Vigour required, in stopping on the Frets of a Lute above, as in striking below on the Strings. Thus Things are, and yet you conclude in the next Lines,

So that I think we are agreed of the Formal Notice of a Spirit in general, and of an Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative

Vegetative Specie. That there may be a *vegetative Species* without *Sense*; and that there is a *sensitive Species* without *Intellect*, and that eternal *Intellect* is without *Vegetation*, I easily grant, and am agreed too with you. But there is a vast Difference yet betwixt us, in that in the *Formalis Conceptus* of a Spirit, you leave out *Immateriality*, or which is the same, *Penetrability*, and *Indiscernibility*; which Slip, as I said above, is not a meer *Mistake*, but a *Mischief*. This is all that I have to note, touching your *Conceptus Formalis* of a Spirit in general.

S E C T. VII.

That Materia and Substantia differ as Genus and Species, and what Substantia properly and adequately is. And that the bare and naked Substance of a Thing is not knowable neither in this Life, nor haply in the Life to come. But only Essential Attributes, Habitues, and Operations.

PASSING to the *Conceptus Fundamentalis*, you say thus, *But truly I am at a Loss about the Conceptus Fundamentalis, wherein the true Difference lieth between Substantia and Materia.* Methinks the Difference lies very obvious to any observing Eye, namely, that *Substantia* and *Materia* differ as *Genus* and *Species*, so as *Animal* and *Brutum* differ, and you may perfect the Division thus, Substance is either *Matter* or *Spirit*, as *Animal* is either *Brutum* or *Homo*. I content myself with such easie *Analysis*. But you proceed.

Do we by Substantia mean a Conceptus Realis, or only Relativus? To say it doth subsistere accidentibus speaks but a Relation directly, and leaves the Question unanswered. Quid est quod subsistat accidentibus? To say it is not an Accident tells us not what it is, but what it is not. To say it does subsistere per se either saith no more than that it is Ens reale, or else tells us not what it is that doth subsist. (1.) As for that relative Signification, we do not here so much regard it. It looks more like that Logical Notion of *Subiectum*, which relates to *Adjunctum*. (2.) And though to say it is no Accident tells us not what it is, but what it is not; yet it illustrates its Nature by Opposition, (as that Logical Maxim teacheth us, *Contra-*

via juxta se posita magis elucescunt.) The Nature of an Accident being such, that it cannot exist but in another; that of a Substance such, that it needs no Inhesion, as an Accident does in another Subject, but subsists by itself, and stands as it were on its own Legs.

THIS is the proper Character of *Substance*, quatenus *Substance*. What can be more plain than this? And a Man is to consider whether it be not a Piece of *Ἀπαιδευσία*, when so compleat a Definition is given; to enquire farther, what is that which does subsist by itself, as if one, after he has heard another define Man to be a *rational living Creature*, should demand, I but, what is that which is a rational living Creature? What can be answered, but, That it is a Man? And so, when we define Substance to be a Being subsisting by itself, if one demand, but what is that which subsists by itself? What can be answered, but that it is *Substance*? And I will farther add out of my *Enchiridion Ethicum*, Lib. 3. Cap. 4. That it is one of the Rules of *Prudence*, to remember in our Contemplations. *Nul-
lius rei intimam nudamve essentiam cognosci posse, sed At-
tributa tantum essentialia essentialisque Habitudines*, which I set down to steer Men off from Splitting themselves on this Rock; as if by any Definition, or any Way else, they were able to discover the very bare Essence or Substance of any Thing. Which, I think, is the Privilege of the *Je-
hovah* himself only, the only Wise God, and great *Essen-
tiator* of all Things. But to perceive the bare Essence of any Thing beyond its Attributes, Operations, and Habi-
tudes, is not given to any Creature, as I conceive, either in this World, or in that which is to come. But we'll proceed.

S E C T. VIII.

That Words are not to be prescinded from their usual and known Signification; and that the Meaning of Materia in use includes Impenetrability, Discernibility, and Self-inactivity, according to Aristotle, and the best approved Philosophers; with a Note of the specific distinct Substance of Spirit and Matter, antecedently to the Self-activity of the one, and the Self-inactivity of the other.

QUOAD *Notationem Nominis*, say you, *distinct from Use*, doth not *Materia* and *Substantia* signify the same Fundamental Conceptus? This Question is something obscure. I know no *Notatio Nominis*, but the Interpretation of it from some Logical Topick, which must be in Words compound or derivative; but *Materia* is a Word simple. And why should we not take Words according to their Use, rather than prescind them from it? You would have those two Terms signify the one no more than the other, or neither more than to what some one distinctive *Conceptus Formalis* might be joined indifferently. But I say again, they are not one, but differ as *Genus* and *Species*, and *Materia* is the *Species* of *Substantia*, and includes in it its own *Conceptus Formalis*, which is Impenetrability, Discernibility, and Self-inactivity, according to Aristotle, and the best approved Philosophers, an opposite *Conceptus Formalis* to that of *Spirit*. That is the Form or notifying Difference of *Matter*, as Penetrability, Indiscernibility, and Self-activity, of *Spirit*. But you go on.

You difference, say you, *Substance* and *Matter*, antecedently to the formal Difference by Penetrability and Impenetrability, Indivisibility and Divisibility. Here, say I, you confound *Substance* and *Matter*, as if they adequately signified the same, whenas according to Use, in all approveable Philosophy, they differ as *Genus* and *Species*: Nor does Penetrability and Indivisibility, Impenetrability and Divisibility, antecede the whole formal Difference of *Matter* and *Spirit*, whenas they themselves are Part of the *Conceptus Formalis*, the one of *Matter*, the other of *Spirit*, or are the whole *Conceptus Formalis* of the specifically distinct Substance of each, antecedently to the Activity of the one, and Inactivity of the other.

S E C T. IX.

Of the Knowledge of the Indivisibility and Penetrability of Spirits in this Life, how far it may extend. And that holy Souls in the other World are no Affectors of useless Knowledge.

BUT first, say you, I despair of knowing in this Life how far Spiritual Substances are Penetrable and Indivisible. I grant you such an Extension as shall free them from being nothing Substantial, and from being infinite as God is. If a Man be not in a right Method of conceiving or ordering his Thoughts, he may be in the like Puzzle in the other World, that he finds himself in this. But if he consider that God has created a Spirit, *Ens unum per se & non per aliud*, so that immediately, of its own Nature, if it be at all, it is *Indiscerpible*; as a plain Triangle, if it be at all, hath its Angles equal to two right ones, he may safely conclude, even in this Life, that a Spirit is utterly *Indiscerpible*, so long as it is, but God may annihilate it at his Pleasure.

AND now for the *Penetrability* of Spirits, it is evident even in this Life, that they can wholly penetrate one another so far as their Essence extends, for one may have a greater Amplitude than another. And that the Parts, as I may so call them, of the same Spirit may, in the Contraction of itself, penetrate one another, so that there may be a Reduplication of Essence through the whole Spirit. But as you very well observe with *Scaliger* before you, a Spirit can neither extend itself in *Infinitem*, nor contract itself in *puncti & servitudo*, into the Nullity of a Point. And though your Modesty make nothing of this, methinks this is sufficient for a rational Creature, whether here or hereafter, for I do not think that in the other World holy Souls affect useless Knowledge. In this, therefore, we both, I conceive, do fully agree, that we are neither of us *Nullibists* nor *Holenmerians*.

S E C T. X.

That Inseparability, continued Amplitude, belongs to Spirits as well as discrete Quantity, with an Answer to the to the most plausible Objection against the same. Whether Forms multiply themselves or no, and in what Sense it is true, that Generation is the Work of Spirits not Bodies, and by what Means many Substances become one.

SEcondly, say you, we grant Spirits a Quantitas discreta, they are numerous, Individuate; and Formæ se multiplicant, Generation is the Work of Spirits, and not of Bodies, and how can I tell that that God, that can make many out of one, cannot make many into one, and unite and divide them as well as Matter. This Passage is worth our attentive Consideration; wherefore I say, (1.) If Quantitas discreta be allowed to Spirits, why may not an Indiscernible Continuance of Amplitude be allowed to them also. You'll reply, it may not, because (and it is one of the most ingenious Allegations that I have met with) that then a Spirit might be measured by a Ruler of Wood or Brass, and be declared to be so many Inches or Foot long or wide, which would argue it not to be a Spirit, but Matter or Body. Why? Because it is measured by Wood or Brass; What if we should Number a certain numerous Multitude of Spirits, casting up their Numbers by Brass-Counters, would it follow that these Spirits are corporeal, because the Brass-Counters are so? The Reason is as firm in the one as the other, as I have more fully noted elsewhere (2.) And now, for Formæ se multiplicant, I desire to know what is meant by Formæ, whether the Accidents or Modes of some Substance, or some Substances, actuating other Substances. If the former, it reaches not our Case, the Argument being of Spirits that are Substances. And I say, no Substance can multiply itself, for if Substance, remaining still the same entire Substance, should multiply into other Substances, it were an Act of Creation, which is incompatible to a Creature. But if it shed, or part with Part of its own Substance, that in my Account is not Multiplication but Division. (3.) That which follows is a sound and golden Saying, if rightly understood, That

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Generation is the Work of *Spirits*, and not of *Bodies*, for Body or Matter of itself is passive, and can do nothing, but as it is either mediately or immediately actuated by a Spirit, as Fire, and Water and, Air, and all other Bodies that are in Motion are actuated either by the *Holostatick Spirit* of the Universe, or by their own proper Spirit, as brute Animals, Angels and Men. And thus are all inanimate Creatures, so vulgarly stiled, generated by the *Spirit of Nature*, and all particular Animals, Brutes and Men, are generated, that is to say, *formed* by their proper Souls, the Spirit of Nature, so far as it is fitting, preparing the Matter, but all in the mean time depending upon that universal Creator of all Things, God, blessed for ever.

BUT in the last Place, *how a Man may tell that that God, that can make many out of one, cannot make many into one, &c.* If the Meaning be of Substantial Spirits, it has been already noted, that God, acting in Nature, does not make many Substances out of one Substance, the same Substance remaining still entire, for then Generation would be Creation. And so sober Man believes, that God assists any Creature so in Natural Course, as to enable it to create. And then I suppose, that he that believes not this is not bound to puzzle himself, why God may not as well make many Substances into one, as many out of one, whenas he holds he does not the latter, but that every Substance, that is created, is created immediately from God. And whatever two or more Substances become one, it is either by *Vital subordinate Actuation* of the Souls and Bodies of Men that makes one Man, and of the Souls and Bodies of Brutes that makes it some Species of Brute Creatures; or else for *Inanimate Creatures* so usually called, as Plants, and all other Inanimate Bodies that seem different Species of Things, they in their particular Consistences are held together into one by the *Spirit* of the *Universe*. And I know no other Ways, according to the Course of Nature, of many Substances becoming one, but these.

S E C T. XI.

Of God's making many Spirits or Souls into one, and of the many Difficulties that Opinion is encumbred with, as particularly in that Instance of the Souls of Men being supposed to be ex traduce.

BUT upon farther Attention to your last Words, *And divide them as well as Matter*, you seem not to make so strange an *Oneness*, or mysterious *Division* of these Spirits, as I conceiv'd from your Frame of Speech at first. But when you add, *and unite and divide them as well as Matter*, it implies, I confess, no Contradiction to the Power of God, that *He* may hold a Company of contracted Spirits together, or expanded, as well as the Spirit of Nature a Congeries of Particles, and then dissunder them again. But to say any such Thing is done, I see neither Truth nor Usefulness in the Assertion. But this we will consider further in what follows, which is this :

But if he should, (viz. divide these Spirits) that would be no Destruction of their Species; as the Mixtorum dissolutio is; but as every Drop of divided Water is Water, and one Candle lighting many, and many joining in one are all the same Fire, so much more would it be with Spirits, were they united or divided, and their Locality and Penetrability are past our Conceit. This looks plausibly and speciously on't at the first Sight, and it is true, that the dividing of these united Spirits would be no Destruction of their Species, as it is in the Dissolution of mix'd Bodies; but we look more closely into the Business, this Assertion is burdened with great Difficulties, and many Demands are to be satisfied, before it can be allowed. For this Multitude of Spirits, or Souls, suppose, made into one, are yet so many individual Souls, notwithstanding this Union; As suppose a Congeries of Physical *Monads* or smallest Particles of Matter, of which some Body is compounded, are still so many Individual or Numerical Particles or Physical *Monads*, notwithstanding their Composition into one Body. Wherefore concerning the Soul of *Adam*, (for this Contrivance seems chiefly to look toward their Opinion, that say the Soul is *ex traduce*, which some, otherwise prudent and intelligent Men, do hold.)

FIRST, I demand, whether this Multitude of Souls which makes up that one Soul of *Adam*, as so many Drops make up one Bucket of Water, have all of them Perception and Understanding in them, or no, which if they all have, their Nature being co-ordinate, they are so many *Personalities*. And *Adam's* Name might have been Legion, at least, as well as the possessed Man's in the Gospel.

SECONDLY, If *Adam* was not such a Legion, or rather innumerable Company of Spirits, which one of this Company was *Adam* himself; and who were the rest of the Company? Were they all the Souls of Men that were to come into this World, beside the Soul of *Adam*, and the Soul of *Eve*, or was *Eve's* Body full fraught with Souls also? And if so,

THIRDLY, I demand, What Laws of shedding of Souls there is betwixt Male and Female in Generation, and whether Soul from the Female is shed, when a Female Child was to be born, and a Soul from a Male, when a Male Child was to be born? In which I know no Absurdity in Nature, unless it should be one, and that should be implied thereby, that *Souls* are *Male* and *Female*; but Theology in the mean time would be at a Loss, to find a Male Soul in the Virgin of whom was born the *Messias*. But to let this pass, we enquire,

FOURTHLY, Whether that innumerable Company of Souls, in *Adam* and *Eve*, were in an *expanded* Condition or *contracted*. If in an *expanded* Condition, they all immediately reaching the Body well fitted, and inactuating it, the Vigour of the Body must be increased, according to the Numerosity of these actuating Spirits in it; what a Lusty Young Man then must this *Adam* have been, and *Eve* what a Frolick Young Virgin, or else how hugely and tearingly strong had they been, like some *'Evees & Evees'* possessed with many *Dæmons*?

FIFTHLY, What an infinite Change would there be in *Adam* and *Eve*, when they had parted with so many of their actuating Spirits in Venereal Copulation: *Adam* to his Male Children, and *Eve* to the Female, which they were so to distribute to their immediate Offspring, Male and Female, as only to leave their own single Souls for the actuating their Bodies while they lived, otherwise, if there
were

were any more left behind, what became of them at their Death? And therefore,

SIXTHLY, I further enquire, there being a Number of Souls imparted in Generation, to whether Male or Female that are to be born, what becomes of those many Souls, when a Man or Woman dies, and never is married?

SEVENTHLY, I would have you consider what a Difference there must be betwixt the Vigour of unmarried Men and Women of some thousand Years ago, and those of this present Age, every one now being reduced to that Paucity of Souls to actuate his Body, in Comparison of what they had some thousand Years ago, and how uncompliant this Difference is with History.

EIGHTHLY, If these Souls be not all of them in this *expanded* Condition, but only the proper Souls of *Adam* and *Eve*; and the numerous Remainder being in a *contracted* Condition, I demand, how all these become one Soul in such a Sort as you (if I mistake you not) fancy all the Lights of several Candles, light up together, become one Light or Fire? And whether they will not lie in the Body of *Adam* and *Eve*, as the little Eggs that make up the Roe of a Fish; as also, whether this Roe of Souls or Spirits pass through the whole Body, or in what peculiar Vessels are they lodged? And

NINTHLY, These *contracted* Spirits in Reality having as much Essence or Substance in them as the *expanded*, (else when they inform a Body to actuate the whole Body, they must be enlarged by seeking and patching more Substance to them, which is contrary to the Nature of Spirits) I demand, what becomes of them also, when a Man or Woman dies and transmits them to no other, by having to do with the Duties of Wedlock?

TENTHLY, As for your Illustrations of what you will have in this Point, That these several Spirits or Souls may be united into one Soul, as the several Lights of a Candle into one Light or Fire, or as several Drops of Water into one Bucket of Water, if that be brought to illustrate the Union of these Spirits, as well as their Identity of Species still upon their Division; I desire you to consider the Nature of Light thoroughly, and you shall find it nothing but a certain Motion of a *Medium*, whose Parts or Particles are so or so qualified, some such Way as *Cartesianism* drives at. But here is not Substances uniting into one Substance,

Substance which is your Case, but Motion, communicated from several Movers, becoming one Motion in one Subject; as when two Men thrust one and the same Body on, or whip one and the same Top, though there be two Thrusters or Whippers, there is but one Motion from them two in that one Body or Top they thrust or whip. So that this comes not Home to the Point. And for the Drops of Water, or several *Flames* of a Candle, joined into one, which, viewing your Words again, I suspect may be as well your Sense, though, for Sureness, you should have said *one Flame*, rather than *one Fire*, although this illustrates well, how some Things united keep the same specific Denomination also, after they are divided; yet such an *Union* as that of *Water*, and likewise *Division*, makes the Soul of Man, or of any Animal else, look not like *Soul* or *Spirit*, but *Matter*. And there is a Repugnancy in the very Supposition, to be one *Soul*, or to be one *Spirit*, and yet to be divisible into Parts which are separately Souls or Spirits, as if every Soul or Spirit were an *Homogeneous Mass* of Soul or Spirit, as Water is of Water, and Air of Air.

BUT to make an End of this Paragraph, whenas in the last Place you add concerning these united Souls or Spirits, *And their Locality and Penetrability are past our Conceit*. I desire you to consider whether it be not a Lothness and Unwillingness strictly and closely to examine, rather than their Inability to conceive the *Penetrability* and *Locality* of these Spirits (how they must be in the Body of *Adam*, or of any Brute Animal, either in an *expanded* or *contracted* Condition, as has been above noted) that makes you so shy of meddling with their *Locality* and *Penetrability*; For haply, if you had considered the Thing so closely as I have at this Time, you might have found yourself so sensible of the Encumbrances on the Opinion, that you would have quite discarded it, and espoused some other that looks more handsomely on't, and is better recorded to the old *Mosaick Cabbala*, that makes the Active or *Spiritual Principle Indivisible*, or *Indiscerpible*. The Symbol of which Principle is *Light*, but is said to be created in the *first Day*, a *Monad* signifying the *Indivisible* Nature thereof. But to say any Thing is *Spirit*, and yet can be actually *divided* into *Parts*, is a Repugnancy to the Nature of the Thing, and a Contradiction to the

the *Σοφία Θεοπεγμένη* the divinely inspired Wisdom of the old Cabbala.

S E C T. XII.

Whether Souls in Generation be produced, as when one Candle lights another ; and how that Conceit is false, as also incompliable with the Psychopyrist's Hypothesis. With other Difficulties touching the Penetrability and Locality of such a Soul as he imagines.

IF I have, upon second Thoughts, hit your true Meaning in those Words, *One Candle lighting many, and many joining or joined in one* (I know not which) *are all the same Fire*, that you mean only this, That they are supposed to be put so near one another, the Candles being so cut on Purpose, that the Wicks might touch, and so all the Flames join together ; this, then, is no more than that of the Resemblance of the Union of the Parts of Water. But the Activity of Fire does still more increase those Difficulties, how Mankind should still retain the like Vivacity (and so of brute Creatures) that they did some thousand Years ago, their active Principle being so much diminish'd, unless you recur to that common plausible Conceit, That as one Candle lights another Candle, without diminishing its own Flame, so *Adam's* Soul may give a Soul to *Cain* or *Abel*, without diminishing his own. But this is against your Hypothesis, which plainly implies, that many Souls are made into one, and then separated or divided upon Generation. Nor is there any Refuge in this Similitude of lighting one Candle at another, for the Admotion of the lighted Candle to the unlighted does only put the sulphurous Parts of the unlighted Candle into Motion, and leaves the *Spirit of Nature*, excited by this new Occasion, to pursue its Work, till all the combustible Matter be dispersed. But what's this to the Production of a Soul or Spirit, which is a *Substance* ? The lighted Candle produces no Substance, but, by its Application, excites the Spirit of the World to move, which causes the Particles of Tallow to be in such a Manner moved, as they exhibit to our View that Phænomenon of Flame. So, that according to this, the Production of a Soul, *ex Traduce*, would end in meer *Materialism*, and signify only, that

that in Generation, some Matter only is newly modified, as the Tallow is, or Wax, when they pass out of their State of Wax, or Tallow, into that of a bright Flame. Which Way of philosophising, as it is most *false*, so it is most *mischievous*, if Men should be so fond as to believe it.

AND now, indeed, touching this compounded Soul of yours, made up of numerous Souls united into one, they being so crass and material, I can say as well as you, their *Penetrability and Locality* (so as to make up one Soul, suppose of *Adam*) are *past our Conceit*: Not that it is past our Conceit, that *Locality* so belongs to the Soul, that it must be somewhere, for you yourself allow it an Extension, but where it should be placed in the Body: For itself being Matter, it cannot penetrate Body, and therefore, if it actuate the whole Body, it must be dispersed in innumerable Pores, as it were, thereof, which consists very ill with the Union of these numerous Souls; and if they lie all together in some one particular Place, the Residue of the Body will be destitute of Soul, with the ill Consequences thereof. Which Considerations may very well cause Puzzles, touching its *Locality*, or rather the placing of it; and, therefore, I should think it more adviseable, to embrace such Hypotheses, as are not past our Conceit. But we are not to insist over long upon one Paragraph.

S E C T. XIII.

That Penetrability and Indivisibility are not Accidents of a Spirit, but Essential Attributes thereof: And, that it is a Piece of 'Αραιωσις, as was noted before, to hope to know the bare and naked Substance of any Thing.

THIRDLY, say you, *but were we sure of what you say therein, these two, Penetrability and Indivisibility, speak but Accidents, though proper, and therefore are no satisfying Notice of the Notion of Substance Spiritual, as distinct from Matter.* To this I say, that *Penetrability and Indivisibility* are not *Accidents* at all, no more than *Rationale* is an Accident in the Definition of a Man, but they are *immediate Essential Attributes*, as much as any are in the World, and, at least, Part of the full *Conceptus Formalis* of a Spirit as such, or of a Spirit in general.

Y o u seem to require such a Definition or Representation of a Thing, as should exhibit to your Perception the very naked Substance of the Thing, against which Point, of what *Aristotle* calls' *Ἀπαίδευσις*, nor know I well how to *Englisch* it, is that Caution or Advertisement, in the third Book of my *Enchiridion Ethicum*, that the bare and intimate Essence of a Thing is not to be known, but only certain essential Attributes or Habitudes, as I noted before. And this is a Rule, I think, worth the inculcating and observing. When we say, *Homo est Animal Rationale*, which is accounted as essential a Definition, as any we meet withal, and the most immediate; yet *Rationale*, which is a specifick Difference accounted, and therefore abundantly essential, when we closely look unto it, it affords us no more than the Notice, that a Man is such an one that has the Faculty and Operation of Reasoning, but neither the *Faculty*, nor *Operation*, is the Essence. Let this Intimation suffice to mind us of the Limits of our own Knowledge, that we do not vainly, either desire, or attempt, to go beyond the Lists that God and Nature hath set us. Wherefore these Attributes, which are immediate, adequate, and inseparable from a *Spirit*, are as *essential* to a Spirit, as any Attributes are to any Thing, and ought to be acknowledged a satisfying Notice of the Notion of Substance Spiritual, as distinct from Matter.

S E C T. XIV.

A Synopsis of the Pſychopyriſt's Philoſophizings, touching a Spirit. The four firſt Particulars thereof, where, amongſt other Things, the Inſufficiency of his Reasonings for laying aſide the Uſe of the Words Immaterial and Material, and his holding only to the Diſtinction of Natures Active and Paſſive, is noted.

I M A Y, perhaps, have been over tedious already, but yet, becauſe you have been pleaſed ſtill more particularly, though compendiouſly, to impart to me your Thoughts, touching this preſent Subject, I ſhall beſtow ſome Strictures or Touches upon each of them, in order as they lie. I am hitherto, ſay you, conſtrained to contain my Thoughts in the following Compaſs.

FIRST, *I know Spirits best by their Virtus Vitalis Formalis Una-Trina.* But here I demand, how do you know that this *Virtus Vitalis Formalis Una-Trina* does belong to *Spirit*, and not to *Matter*, unless you have an antecedent Notion of *Spirit* distinct from *Matter*, and know the Nature of *Matter* also so distinctly, and the Operations of that *Virtus Vitalis Formalis*, that you can conclude them one repugnant to another? Otherwise, tho' you find that *Virtus Vitalis Formalis* in a Subject, you know not whether the Principle be *Material* or *Spiritual*, from whence it is, or in which it resides.

SECONDLY, *I hold, say you, that of created Spirits Substantia, as notifying a Basis Realis, must be the Conceptus Fundamentalis.* This is found and unexceptionable, so far as I can discern. Whence it is evident, that the Soul being a Spirit, and a Spirit Substance, they, that hold the Soul to be *ex Traduce*, must hold that a Substance may be *ex Traduce*: Which that Similitude of a Lamp, lighted at a Lamp, does not reach, as I noted above. And what Difficulties there are in the Parent's Soul shedding Part of itself, to the producing the Child's Soul, I intimated above.

THIRDLY, *This Word Immaterial, say you, signifying nothing but a Negation, and Materia being, by many Antients used in the same Sense that we do Substantia, I usually lay by the Words.* The Reason of the First, I conceive not so weighty. For a negative Particle, in Composition with a Word that denotes Imperfection, implies Positiveness and Perfection, as in *Infinite, Immortal*, and the like; these remove the Imperfections in *Finiteness* and *Mortality*, and imply something positive of a better Nature. And so does *Immaterial* remove the Imperfections of Discerpibility and Impenetrability, and implies the contrary. As for the Reason of the second Avoidance, *Materia*, indeed, may be used in such a Sense with the Antients, as *Subiectum* has in Logick, or *Substantia quatenus substat Accidentibus*; but as it is precisely defined, *Ens per se subsistens*, that *ὕλη* or *Materia* is put in lieu of *Substantia*, in that adequate Sense, I believe it is not easy to give an Example. But here I mainly inquire, since the Definition of *Substantia*, and the Definition of *Materia*, is so well known in the learned World, why you will use *Substantia*, which is but the Genus of the other, in lieu of *Materia*

teria, or of the other Species of *Substantia*, which is *Immaterial*, or *Spiritual*, when this is more certain and distinct, unless it be out of a Shyness to pronounce, to what Subject, whether Material or Immaterial, such Properties or Operations do belong, or whether there be any such Distinction, really and properly, as Body and Spirit in the created Universe. But you know best this yourself.

FOURTHLY, *I hold to the Distinction*, say you, *between Natures or Substances, Active and Passive*. But there being no created Substance whatever, but what is both *active* and *passive* in some Sense or other, this is a Distinction, that thus far confounds all, distinguishes nothing. But Substance, *spiritual* and *material*, are certain indelible Characters of two Orders of Things, specifically different. Which distinct Way of philosophizing is to me more satisfactory, than thus to blend and confound the Classes of Things. This looks as if there were some paradoxical Mystery under it, which is better let go, than over curiously inquired into.

S E C T. XV.

The Fifth Particular, touching the Purity of spiritual Substances, and how prone they are, that understand not the subtlest material Substances, to consist of Particles, to think what is really Material, to be Spiritual.

FIFTHLY, *I distinguish*, say you, *spiritual Substances, as such, by the Purity of their Substances, besides the formal Differences*. I suppose you mean by the Purity, the Subtilty, and Tenuity of their Substances, as the Interpreter of *Tresmegist's Pæmander*, cap. 12. renders τὸ λεπτομερέστατον ἢ ὕλης. *Portionem purissimam materiæ. Purissimaque materiæ portio Aer, Aeris Anima, Animæ Mens, Mentis denique Deus*. The Greek is, Ἔστιν οὖν ἡ μὲν ὕλης τὸ λεπτομερέστατον, αἶὴρ, αἰὲρ ὁ δεῖ, ψυχή, ψυχῆς δὲ νῦς, νῦς δὲ θεός. And yet λεπτομέρεια, signifies properly the Subtilty, Tenuity, or Smallness of Parts or Particles, of which a Thing consists, which yet the Translator calls *Purity*; but I am very well assured, that your *Purity* of spiritual Substances, is not such, as, you conceive, consists of Particles, because you do not admit that *Hypothesis*, no more than Judge Hales.

W H I C H

WHICH is a shrewd Invitation to one to redeem what is really *Material* to be *Spiritual*, when it is not, merely because it is conceived to be one *continued* subtile Substance. But a Man would be loth to admit a Congeries of Atoms, be they never so small or subtile; to be a Spirit; no more than he would admit the Powder of some crass Body to be a Spirit, which was so palpably a Body before. *For Magis and Minus non variant speciem*, as that Scholastick *Maxim* has it.

S E C T. XVI.

The Sixth Particular. That all created Spirits are in some Sort Passive: That that Spissitude which is given to Spirits by Pſychopyriſt's Antagoniſt, argues a Spirit to be Immaterial rather than Material: That Body ſometimes has a leſs groſs Signification than Matter: And in what Senſe the Pſychopyriſt ſeems to allow created Spirits to be Incorporeal: And what might be the chief Ground of this Miſtake.

SIXTHLY, Yet, ſay you, *I doubt not but all created Spirits are ſomewhat paſſive*, quia *Influxum cauſæ primæ recipiunt*, and you grant them *Spiffitude* and *Extension*, which ſignifies as much as many mean that call them *Material*. That is to ſay, if I rightly underſtand you, all created Spirits, be they never ſo pure and refined, yet are not ſo much tranſpiritualized from the Condition of Matter, but that they are *paſſive* in Reſpect of the firſt Cauſe, and his Influence on them, which I ſhall eaſily admit alſo in the higheſt Degree of created Spirits in my Senſe, which are moſt properly and really ſuch. To which, *viz.* To all created Spirits, though I grant *Spiffitude* and *Extension*, yet the former is granted in ſuch a Senſe, that it ſignifies only more Substance within leſs Compaſs, but no Hardneſs or Craſſneſs accruing from the Reduplication of the ſame Substance into a narrower Compaſs, ſo that it is as much *Spiritual* as before, and does not herein ſymbolize with Matter, but approves itſelf contrary thereto, Matter implying *Impenetrability* of Parts, but this *Penetrability*; and as for *Extension*, that, in itſelf, has nothing of Materiality in it, there being *Metaphyſical Extension* as well as *Metaphyſical Numerality*, which be-
long

long to *Entia quatenus Entia*, there being no *Ens* or Being devoid of all Amplitude, or not capable to make a second, third, fourth, &c. in Number. Wherefore if those Men mean no more by these Words of *Spissitude* and *Extension* in Spirits than I do, and yet call Spirits *Material*, I must take the Leave to say, that in my Judgment they mis-call them.

But Custom, say you, having made *Materia*, but especially *Corpus*, to signifie only such grosser Substance as the three passive Elements have, I yield so to say, that Spirits are not *Corporeal* or *Material*. That *Corpus* does not always signifie more crassly than *Materia*, but meer trine Dimension Metaphysical or Mathematical, is apparent from that Expression of some of the *Platonists*, who call that Space in which the Mundane Bodies move, and which *Democritus* and *Epicurus* termed *τὸ κενόν*, they call it I say, *Σῶμα αἰόνιον* an *Immaterial Body*, but to have called it, *Immaterial Matter*, had been a Contradiction. Whence is intimated that *Matter* fundamentally and specifically sounds more crassly than *Body*. But we will not contend about Words; that which is most observable here is this, that you seem to concede or imply, that no created Spirits are in any other Sense to be esteemed *Incorporeal* or *Immaterial*, but in such as supposes them of not so crass a Consistency as those Three passive Elements are, Earth, Water, Air. As if *Fire* and *Æther*, which are far thinner than Air, were *Immaterial* and *Incorporeal* Beings, nor any other created Beings to be said to be *Immaterial* or *Incorporeal* in any other Sense than they, namely, for the Tenuity or Subtily of their Substance.

WHICH Opinion, though I have known pious and intelligent Persons to have been of, I look upon as a grand Mistake, arising from another false Supposition or Surmise, namely, that the Bodies of the World do not consist of small minute Parts of Matter, and that Water, and Air, and *Æther*, and Fire, are each of them a continued Substance, not a Congeries of contiguous Particles that make up such fluid Substances. This I say, seems the fundamental Error of such as philosophise according to your Mode: Which first Error if they had not swallowed down, they could not so easily have imbibed this second, viz. That there are no created Substances *Incorporeal* in any other Sense, than *Æther* or *Fire* may be said to be In-

corporeal, namely, as being freed from that Crassness or Grossness that the Three passive Elements seem to have.

S E C T. XVII.

Reasons why the Atomick Philosophy is to be preferred before that of the Psychopirist. And whence he may have sufficient-Instruction to assure him of so concerning a Truth.

BUT here we two do very much disagree ; for I conceive that all Bodies consist of Atoms, or little Particles of Matter ; the more hard and consistent Bodies, as Stones, Iron, and the like, of Particles, some-way, something more firmly continued one to another ; but in fluid Bodies, such as Water, Air, Æther, and Fire, of Particles merely contiguous, and in some Motion one by another. And this Way of Philosophy I think I have good Reason to embrace before any other. First, because, in this industrious and searching Age, it is most universally received by free and considering Philosophers. And this is that *seculum philosophicum* in which Knowledge should abound, according to the Prediction of *Daniel*.

S E C O N D L Y, This Mode of Philosophy is the most useful for the best Ends, and serves to support the main Parts of Natural Religion the best ; namely, the Existence of God, of *Genii* or Angels, and the Immortality of the Soul. For it being so absurd, at the first Sight, that a Congeries or Heap of Particles or Atoms should be capable of those most noble Functions of Imagination, Memory, and Understanding, nay, of Sense or Personality, were it not for this aukward Conceit of Air, and Æther, and Fire being continued Substances, and no Congeries of Particles, Men would immediately be led into a necessary Belief of Spiritual Substance properly so called, and then all the main Articles of Natural Religion would go down glib and easie. But to deny, that such liquid Bodies consist of Particles, deprives us of some of the most considerable Aids that Philosophy affords against Atheism and Epicurism.

T H I R D L Y, This Mode of Philosophy seems to be the most ancient (and *antiquissimum quodque verissimum*) nay, to have been the old *Moschical* or *Mosaical* Philosophy,

phy, as may appear out of what I have writ in the *Appendix* to the Defence of my *Cabbala Philosophica*, Cap. 1. Sect. 8.

AND Fourthly and Lastly, And which is of most Moment to Philosophic *Spirits*, this Doctrine of Bodies consisting of Particles, and that their Modification and Motion, or Fixation, exhibits to our Perception all the sensible Phænomena of the Universe, is demonstrable to any unprejudiced Reason. Which would be too long here to make out, but I refer you to my first Epistle to V. C. Sect. 6. to my first *Adnotamentum* upon Judge Hales his *Difficiles Nugæ*, to the twelfth Section of my *Examinatio Philosophematum Eruditi Authoris Difficilium Nugarum*, &c. which whole Treatise touching the *Essentie Medicæ* which that worthy Person would bring up, and the Manner of *Rarefaction* and *Condensation*, as also his Nine Objections against the *Spirit of Nature*, with my Answers (all which are not passing seven Pages in *Folio*) if you have Leisure and Patience attentively to read and consider, I should hope that Discourse, with the other Places of my Writings above-named, may have the good Hap to undeceive you, and bring you into a Sense of Things more satisfactory to your own Mind and Reason, than you have fallen into yet. And it is worth the while for a Man to be undeceived in that Point, and to be rationally assured that Earth, Water, and Air, and other Bodies of the Universe, do consist of Particles, for the Reasons I above intimated. But you proceed.

S E C T. XVIII.

The Seventh Particular, touching the Nature of Fire. The Psychopyrist's Wish, that Fire were better studied, with his Antagonist's Wish added thereto, That Water were better studied. A clear Proof chiefly out of Des Cartes, That Water consists of certain long, flexible and tough Particles, which is a fair Inducement to believe, that other Bodies consist of Particles also.

SEventhly, say you, *Tho' I run not into the Excess of Ludov. le Grand, de Igne, nor of Telesius or Patricius, I would Ignis were better studied.* As for *Le Grand*, *Telesius*, and *Patricius*, what they hold, touching Fire, I

have not had the Occasion to observe, but it seems, even according to your own Judgment, they philosophize something extravagantly therein, which makes me the less concerned to look after them, they being disallowed by one that seems to think so over-magnificently of *Fire* himself.

BUT now, whereas you wish that *Fire were better studied than it is*, I also wish (and yet not out of any Humour or Spirit of Contradiction to oppose you) that *Water were better studied than it is*, and that that Hydrostatical Experiment of the Wooden-Rundle arising from the Bottom of a Bucket of Water, the Water in the mean time over it actually weighing, it may be, One or Two hundred Pounds Weight, continually perceptible by the uninterrupted Stretch of the Rope or Weight upon the Hand one may put under the Bottom of the Bucket; I say, I wish this Experiment of Water were well weighed and considered; of what Importance it is, and how firmly it demonstrates an Immaterial Being or Spirit that moves the Matter of the World, I have intimated to you above, and how none have been yet able to evade the Evidence of the Demonstration, that there must be something *Immaterial* indued with Properties above any Matter, distinct from the Water and the Rundle, and penetrating them both, that causes that marvellous Phænomenon.

MOREOVER, I would not only have such Experiments as these considered, but I would have the very *Nature of Water* well sifted and studied; and to any one that has that impartial Curiosity in him, that he will study the Nature of Water as well as of Fire, I would commend to him the reading of *des Cartes's Meteors*, where with incomparable Evidence he makes out, That Water consists of long flexible Particles, which, joined together in a more moderate creeping Motion contiguously one by another, are the Phænomenon of Water, but being more swiftly agitated as they are in an *Æolipyla* set over the Fire with some Water in the Bottom of it, these Aqueous Particles raised out of the Water, and put upon a whirling Motion, playing as it were at Quarter-Staff one with another in that Part of the Belly of the *Æolipyla* that has only Air, they, contending thus for more Space, burst out of the Orifice of the *Æolipyla*, and give the Phænomenon of a very sensible, if not a violent Wind.

THAT they are exhaled thus, as from the Water in the *Æolipyla*, by virtue of the Fire, so from the Sea and Rivers, and other moist Places, by virtue of the Heat of the Sun. That, according to certain Measures of Motion or Rest, and Nearness and Remoteness from the Earth, they cause Mists or Clouds. That certain Numbers of them, cluttering more close together in a warm Air, cause Drops of Rain, but in a more cold, Snow or Hail. And that Water by strong Cold is frozen into Ice, is apparent to all, which is therefore a considerable firm Consistency of such Kind of Aqueous Particles that, otherwise remaining still Aqueous Particles, take upon them the Form not only of Clouds, Snow and Rain, but also of blustering Winds, that whirling Motion being imparted unto them.

THESE, methinks, are Indications sufficient that Water is a Body consisting of oblong flexible Particles, which may be dislevered by Heat; and as the Ice, though a firm Body, is melted thereby into that fluid Body we call Water; so that this Water may have its Parts so relaxed, as to be rarified into Vapours, and those Vapours so agitated, that they get the Form of Wind. And amongst other Things that hit so handsomely, it is also observable that their easily being drawn out of a wet Cloth, exposed to the Air or Fire, when it is hard to get Oil or Grease out so, argues that they are long, smooth, flexible Parts whereas those of Oil are more ramose, and entangled with the Cloth, and among themselves.

A MAN of any Nose or natural Sagacity in Philosophy cannot but smell out the Meaning of this, namely, That Water must needs consist of such Particles as these, which *des Cartes* has described; and that it is not one equally continued Body, but, tho' each long Particle be strongly continued in itself, yet they are but contiguous in a manner in Water, tho' pretty firmly continuous in Ice. But if they were alike continuous all over in Water, that is, no more in one Part than another, they might pass the least Pores, and like the Sun-Beams, at least with some Force added, strain themselves thro' Glass, which shews plainly, that Water is not one alike continued Body, but consists of long Particles, each being tough, as I may say, as well as flexible in itself, but they are easily separable each from the other; and we finding this so plainly discoverable in Water, if we be not over affect-

edly shie and timorous, how can we well abstain from concluding all other Things, as well as Water, especially if they be reduceable to a Fluidity, to consist of some Kind of Particles or other? And this, I think, is the genuine Result of our diligently studying the Nature of Water.

S E C T. XIX.

The Advantage of studying and well understanding of Water, for the better understanding of Fire; and that the Phenomenon of Fire is from the Motion of certain Particles, as well as that of Water and Vapours out of a Cauldron.

AND having dived so deep into the Mystery of *Water*, let us now see whether we have not brought up a Key, for the easier opening the Nature of *Fire*, which I grant is to be studied also; and this we may very conveniently do by Candle-light, for the Fire and Flame, in a lighted Candle, is much what of the same Nature with all other Fire. Here, therefore, let us observe, that Ice before, which seems of a firm Consistence, was first resolved into Water, and that Water into Vapours, &c. That here I say, also the fixed Tallow, which answers to the frozen Ice, is resolved first into a Kind of fluid Oil or Fat, answering to the Water, and after into a Sort of visible Reek, if we may so call that which is so bright and splendid; a certain Kind of Particles loosened from the Tallow or Wax, which consists of them, being put into Motion, as it is in Vapours. It is manifest hence, that Flame is nothing but such a Kind of Particles, put into such a Kind of Motion different from that of Water, and in a different Manner affecting or modifying the *Medium*, whence is that Appearance to our Eye we call *Flame*, which is but a more close, but bright Vapour or Reek; and thus is the whole Candle by degrees dissolved into Particles, nor is it the same individual Flame, any more than the Water that runs through such a Pipe continually, till all the Water be run out, is the same individual Water all the Time.

So that we see the studying of *Water* will make us conceive the Nature of *Fire* the better, and give us to understand,

derstand, that it is nothing but such a Kind of Motion and Particles that so modifies the *Medium* of our Sight, that such a Phænomenon appears to us as we call *Fire* or *Flame*. *Flame*, when the accended Particles are volatile, but *Fire*, when they are more fix'd, as in the Wick of a Candle, when the Flame is gone, or in red-hot Iron, where the Parts of the Iron not at all volatile (as in Wax, Wood, Tallow, and the like) yet are smartly vibrated against the *Medium* of our Sight, and cause the Phænomenon of *Fire*. I have studied the Nature of Fire with Diligence and Seriousness, and yet I profess I can make no more of it than thus. But we go on.

S E C T. XX.

A close compacted Account of the Nature of a Spirit from Fire, made by the Psychopyrist, and deduced by his Antagonist into seven Propositions.

BUT this Room, say you, will not serve me to say what I think of it, viz. of *Fire*: Light and Fire are rousing Objects to humane Sense, which caused the Generality of the *Pagan* World to worship the *Sun*, for the *Supremum Numen*, and brought them into that gross Error in Religion, and we must have a care, lest idolizing the Phænomenon of *Fire* too much, it brings us also into Errors in Philosophy. But you hold on: But in brief, he that knoweth that *Ignis* is a Substance, whose Form is the *Potentia activa movendi, illuminandi, calefaciendi*, these, as received in gross passive Bodies, being but their Accidents, all but the *Igneous Substance* in Act operating upon them, and conceives of Spirits, but as *Ignis* eminenter, that is, of a purer Substance than *Ignis* is, which we best conceive of, next the formal Vertue, by its Similitude, I think, knows as much as I can reach of the Substance of created Spirits.

THOUGH you thought you were straitened in Room, yet, methinks, you have given a Specimen of a very dextrous Faculty, in contriving so much into so little a Compass, whereby, I think, I am enabled to conceive your full Meaning deduceable, as I suppose, into these following Propositions,

FIRST, That Fire is a Substance, whose Form is an active Power of Motion, Light, and Heat.

SECONDLY, That the Motion, Light, and Heat, that appear in gross passive Bodies, are but Accidents, all of them of the said Bodies, *viz.* such as in a Fire-stick, Candle, and the like.

THIRDLY, That there is an Igneous Substance, in Act, operating upon the abovesaid gross passive Bodies, distinct from the said Bodies.

FOURTHLY, That a Spirit is to be conceived of, but as *Ignis eminenter*.

FIFTHLY, That this *Ignis eminenter* is a purer Substance than *Ignis*.

SIXTHLY, That this purer Substance than *Ignis*, next to its formal Vertue, is best conceived of, by the Similitude it bears with the aforesaid *Ignis*.

SEVENTHLY and Lastly, That he, that conceiveth thus of created Spirits, knows as much of their Substance as you can reach.

S E C T. XXI.

Certain Queries upon the foregoing Propositions, to find what the Psychopyrift would be at, and how much nearer we are to the true Knowledge of a Spirit, by his Illustrations thereof from Fire.

I SHALL now crave Leave to make some Queries, touching these Propositions; as, whether in the first Proposition, you mean by an active Power, a Power always exerting itself into Act, so that this Fire is always moving, enlightening, and hot, and in such Sort, that it is not only *effective* but *formaliter*, else, why should it be called *Ignis*? And that this Query is to be answered in the Affirmative, seems manifest from the second and third Propositions, they implying an *Igneous* Substance, acting upon those Substances, or gross passive Bodies, that we call *Fire*; now, if this *Igneous* Substance be really Substance, and not one of the *Substantiæ Mediæ*, according to Judge *Hales's* Way of Philosophizing, which I have sufficiently confuted in my *Examination*, I demand, here, What is this new igneous Substance, never heard of before, Is it Material or Immaterial? If it be *Immaterial*, it is not Fire; if it be
Material,

Material, a *Material Fire*, distinct from the Fire of the Flame of a Candle, or from that of a Fire-stick, or red-hot Iron, there is no more Ground or Reason for, than for a *Material Water* distinct from, but in the Water of a Well, a River, or the Sea, but the very Matter itself of the Water, even that which we call Water, is modified into this Phænomenon of Water, and in like Reason, the Matter of Fire, even of that which we call Fire, is modified into the Phænomenon of Fire, without any other *Material Igneous Substance* operating upon it. This to the Unprejudiced, I think, will appear very plain and rational.

THE next Query is upon the fourth Proposition, what is meant by *Ignis eminenter*. For if it be to exclude the Conceit of a Spirit's being *Ignis formaliter*, and that it is only effectively *Ignis*, God may thus be said to be *Ignis eminenter*, as he may all Things else, according to the *Orphick Theology*; but the fifth and the sixth Propositions seem to favour the other Sense, That a Spirit is *formaliter Ignis*, but only a more pure *Ignis*, that is, of more tenuous Substance, as was above observed, than that very igneous Substance mentioned in the third Proposition. But, this, I profess, to me, is a *Fire* without *Light*, nor enables me to conceive a Jot better of the Nature of a *Spirit*, than if I were without it.

FOR the gross visible Fire is nothing but accensed Particles, or such a Sort of Particles, put into such a Kind of Motion; and how does it appear, that there either is any other Fire but this, or, if there were, that it is any other than more subtile Particles, so and so moved? So that in all this Fire and Heat, we want *Light* to discover the real Nature of a *Spirit*; and yet the sixth Proposition says, That a *Spirit*, next to the formal Vertue, is best known, by the Similitude it bears with *Ignis*, in the Sense of the third Proposition; so that if we knew that *Ignis*, it were only a Metaphorical Illustration therefrom, which is no good Mode of defining the Nature of Things, but, as I intimated above, the Nature of this *Ignis* can be no other than a more subtile Consistency of Particles, if it be any Thing at all, and, therefore, very inept to set off the Nature of a *Spirit*, which is *Ens unum per se & non per aliud*, as all must grant, that grant there is any such Thing as a *Spirit* properly so called; wherefore, I much doubt of the Truth of the last Proposition, That he that thus

con-

conceives of created *Spirits*, knows as much of their Substance as you can reach. For, I conceive, you undervalue your own cognitive Faculties in that Assertion, which I cannot believe, but can pierce farther than so, as haply I may discover anon; in the mean time we pass to what follows.

S E C T. XXII.

Of the Greek Fathers, dividing Fire into Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative, and in what Sense they are to be understood, and how the Mode of the ancient Philosophy was Enigmatical and Hebraical.

AND the Greek Fathers, say you, that called *Spirits* Fire, and distinguished *Ignem per Formas*, into Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative, or visible Fire, (as it is in *Aere Ignito*) allowing an incomprehensible Purity of Substance in the higher, above the lower, (as, in Passives, Air bath above Water) I think, did speak tolerably, and as informingly, as the Notions of Penetrability and Indivisibility, though, perhaps, these also may be useful. If the Words and Places of these Fathers had been cited, I would more distinctly and particularly have made Answer to them, but now my Answer must be more undeterminate and general.

AND, first, I say, Though there is a great Deference to be given to the Fathers in Things that lay within their Sphere, yet, that some of them were none of the best Philosophers, is apparent from their making the Earth flat, not spherical, and their denying Antipodes. But then, in the second Place, supposing some of them did philosophize at the Rate above described, dividing Fire into Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative, I would here demand in what Sense they here spoke, whether they spoke, not of the immediate Instrument of Operation in Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative Creatures, which I can easily agree, that it is, at least, most-what, *Igneous* or *Æthereal*, the Vehicles of Angles being acknowledged to be such: Or, whether they did not speak Symbolically, *ex Destinato*, or at least, using, out of Ignorance, the Symbolical Expression of the ancient Philosophers, for the proper, (who Symbolically called a Spirit *Fire*, yea, God himself, who is the most pure Spirit conceivable), whether it was not from
thence,

thence, that these Fathers incautiously divided Fire, as if it were a real Spirit, into Intellectual, Sensitive, &c. For that the ancient Philosophers spoke *Ænigmatically*, *Clemens Alexandrinus* takes express Notice, ὅτι τρεῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς τῆς φύσεως Ἐλεγινόντο καὶ Ἀνιζυμωτόντες. In which Saying of his, it is implied, that not only their Way of Philosophizing was *Ænigmatical* or *Symbolical*, but that also the *Hebraical* Philosophy was such.

S E C T. XXIII.

That the Symbolical or Ænigmatical Mode of the ancient Philosophy caused marvellous fond Mistakes in them, that were not aware of it, as in Aristotle and others, that took the Cortex for the Kernel.

AND the Ignorance of that Mode of the old Philosophers has caused ridiculous Opinions. As from the ancient *Mosaick Cabbala's* setting off the Nature of Things by Numbers, those unskilled in the Mystery have afterwards made Numbers the very constitutive Principle of Things; and *Aristotle*, whenas *Parmenides*, speaking *Symbolically* and *Mosaically*, declared that *Fire* and *Earth* were the Principles of all Things, which undoubtedly was spoken in reference to the Beginning of *Genesis*, where אֵשׁ אֶרֶץ are the two Principles of Things, to wit, *Spirit* and *Matter*; I say, *Aristotle* is so silly as to take *Parmenides* literally, whenas yet himself acknowledges that *Parmenides* reckoned his *Earth* in the Rank of *Non-entia*, which was impossible for him to have done, unless he had spoke *Symbolically*. These two, *Fire* and *Earth*, are the same with the *Pythagoreans*, φῶς καὶ σκότος, *Light* and *Darkness*, who also had partaken of the *Mosaick Cabbala*; see my Preface-general to the second *Tome* of my Philosophick Writings, *Sect.* 13. as also the *Appendix* to the *Defence* of my *Philosophic Cabbala*, *Cap.* 7. *Sect.* 5. and I hope you will acknowledge I have Reason on my Side. Wherefore the Fathers using, with the ancient Philosophers, the Name *Ignis* for *Spiritus*, is no Warrant, since it may signifie *Symbolically*, for us to think that that *Ignis* belongs to the very Nature and Essence of a Spirit.

S E C T. XXIV.

That the Chaldee and Magick Oracles call not only the Soul but God himself Fire ; but that it is not to be understood properly, but Symbolically, proved by the Glosses of Michael Pfellus and Pletho.

THAT *Ignis* is put for *Spirit* by the Ancients, is plain over and over again from the *Magick and Chaldee Oracles*; (to say nothing here of *Ezekiel's Vision*, where God the Father is represented by *Fire*, which the *Cabbalists* also follow) these Oracles I say, do not stick to call the highest Deity, from which all Things are, *Fire*; which I conceive is very gross and absurd to understand in a proper Sense of God; and therefore, both *Pletho* and *Pselmus* upon that Oracle: *Εἰς ἅπαντα πῦρ ἐνὸς ἐκγεγαῶτα*, *All Things proceed out of one Fire*: The one says, *ἐξ ἐνὸς πῦρ ἡμῶν ἐξ ἐνὸς Θεοῦ*. *Out of one Fire that is from one God*; and the other, This, says he, is our Doctrine and true, *Πάντα γὰρ τὰ ὄντα ἀπὸ μόνου Θεοῦ ὑπόστασιν ἔλαβον*, *For all Things received their Being from one God*; where they render *πῦρ* by *Θεός*, *Fire*, by *God*, they questionless understood God in the proper philosophical Notion, as a pure immaterial and intellectual Being, or else they would make his Nature inferior to that of a created Spirit: For when a created Spirit is called *Fire* in those Oracles, as the Soul is expressly termed *πῦρ φαεινόν*, *A shining Fire*: *Pletho* interprets, *πῦρ φαεινόν*, stripping it out of its symbolical Cortex, *θεῖα τις ἔστι καὶ νοεὰ*, *A certain divine and intellectual Substance*, which is here called *Fire* symbolically, as God himself is, to intimate its Affinity, with the Divinity itself; and upon the same Oracle, which, at large, is,

Ὁπ λυχὶ πῦρ ἔσται φαεινόν σωζέμεν πατρός.

Ἀθάνατός τε μένει καὶ ζωὴς δεσπόνης ἐστίν.

The Sense of which is, *That the Soul being shining Fire, by the Power of the Father, remains Immortal, and the Mistress of Life*; that is, an undisturbed Possessor or Proprietor of Life in herself. Upon this Oracle, I say, *Michael*

Michael Pfellus Glosses thus, Ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτὸν ὅλον ἔσται καὶ ἀσώματον πῦρ τῶν σωζέτων ὄλων καὶ τῆ υλικῆς σώματος ἐξωρεμένοιο, ἀθανάτος ἐστίν, that is to say, *The Soul being an immaterial and incorporeal Fire* (which indeed is to be no Fire, and therefore again assures us, that, according to the Sense of these Interpreters, God is called Fire only symbolically) *exempt from all Composition, and having nothing of Matter or Body, in its Essence, is immortal.* For, as he says afterwards, she having not out of which she is compounded, she has not into which she may be dissolved, and therefore, say I, is indissoluble and indiscerpible. Which is the true Notion of a Spirit, and not of any Fire, all which is composed of Particles and dissoluble. I might instance in more Places, but the Thing is so plain, that it is needless.

WHEREFORE it is manifest, that though the Greek Fathers should run Division upon that Symbolical Term of a Spirit, viz. *Fire*, and distribute it into Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative, that there is no Proof hence that every created Spirit is *Fire*, and not properly a *Spirit*; that is, such a Substance as is *Ens unum per se & non per aliud*, and consequently *Indiscerpible*.

S E C T. XXV.

Of the Incomprehensible Purity of those Fires that are pretended to be Spirits, and whether the Greek Fathers spoke tolerably in dividing Fire into Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative.

BUT now concerning the Incomprehensible Purity of Substance in these *Fires* (which must be so many Spirits) one above another, any one of which, I cannot think that you conceive, may be so incomprehensibly *Pure*, as to be the Divine Essence itself; I would enquire here (since Flame in the first Sense, and obvious to our Sight and Senses, is so apparently, as I have above proved, nothing but such a certain Kind of Particles in such a Kind of Motion) what these several Degrees of Purification can amount to more than this, That the Particles will be more subtil and subtil, but as arrand a Congeries of Particles of Matter as before. Which I must confess, to me, seems to have no Affinity at all with the true Nature of a Spirit. And yet you stick not to declare, that the Greek Fathers, in dividing *Fire* into Intellectual, Sensitive, and

Vege-

Vegetative speak *tolerably* and *informingly*. For I will leave out, for the present, the Comparifon with that other Notion, which to me feems to be more precise and natural.

WHEREFORE I must here crave Pardon, that I shall take the Boldness, who have otherwise no Mind to differ from any one more than needs, exprefly to differ from you in Judgment in this Cause. For I must pronounce, that as you seem to conceive the Fathers to speak, that is, not *Symbolically*; (or else it is nothing to your Purpose) but properly, these Fathers speak neither *tolerably* nor *informingly*, but intolerably and mischievously, dilutely and misinformingly. For is it not an intolerable Mischief, that those that should be our Guides in our greatest Concerns, such as the Assurance of the Immortality of our Souls, should broach such Doctrine about the Nature of the Soul, as should induce Men to believe it mortal? For if the Soul be really *Fire*, or if you will, a *Light*, how easily is it blown out, when it is removed into the open Air out of this Lanthorn of the Body? But, if it be Fire not flaming, such as is red-hot Iron, it cannot remove out of the Body, but is extinct in the cold Corpse, as the Fire in the Iron, when it is grown cold. So that the former is the more plausible Opinion that it is, if it be any Kind of *Fire*, a Kind of a subtile *Flame*, but how you secure its Subsistence, and defend it from the Injury of the blustering Winds after its *Exit*, you must answer to *Lucretius*, for his Objection it was of old, who thus speaks of the Soul *de Rerum Natura*, lib. 3.

*Hæc igitur tantis ubi morbis corpore in ipso
Jactetur, miserisque modis distracta laboret,
Cur eandem credis sine corpore in Aere aperto,
Cum validis ventis ætatem degere posse?*

WHICH Objection is invincibly strong against such as hold the Humane Soul *Fire*, feign it as pure and subtile as you will, as subtile as the *primum Elementum* of *Des Cartes*, which must still be a Congeries of Atoms. It will be presently overflowed with the *Globuli*, and go out like the last Flame of the Snuff of a Candle; and, though its Matter be not lost, it will lose its *Personality* by mingling,
as

as other liquid Things do, with the rest of its own Element. And so, as the Song of the Wicked is in the *Wisdom of Solomon*, Chap. 2. *We shall be hereafter as if we had never been: For our Life is as Smoak, and a little Spark in the moving of our Heart, which being extinguished, our Body shall be turned into Ashes, and our Spirit shall vanish as the soft Air.* Air mingled with Air, and as well Fire with Fire, which is as utter a Mortality of the Soul as the *Epicureans* can believe, or the wicked hope for. And yet the making of the Soul Fire induceth the Belief of all this, if it be meant *Literally*, not *Symbolically*. And therefore this Form of Speech, so understood, is plainly *Mischievous* and *Intolerable*, which makes me believe, the *Greek Fathers* did not so understand it, but speak *Symbolically*, or else spake they knew not well and distinctly what.

S E C T. XXVI.

Whether the Greek Fathers spake informingly in the above-said Division. That Metaphors are to be excluded Definitions, and why. That Ventus and Fumus might as well have been divided into Intellective, Sensitive, and Vegetative, as Fire. And how utterly incapable Fire is of the plastick Power, less haply than Frost and Cold.

AN D now that you say they speak so *informingly*, in calling a Spirit *Fire*, what a dilute and slender Information is this, as to the Satisfaction of our Reason? Metaphors indeed, and figurative Speeches, fill the Sails of our imaginative Faculty the most, and to resemble God to a consuming Fire, and a glorious Light, may serve the well intended Ends of Religion, and strike greater Terrour, Reverence, and Devotion, into the Minds of the Vulgar, but proper Language, is the most becoming sound Philosophy, and strict Reason. And when we enquire into the distinct Nature of Things, we are to bid adieu to Allusions and Metaphors; for to inquire into the proper Nature of a Thing is to search out the adequate Definition thereof, which is to be done in the most certain and clear Terms that are, according to *Aristotle*. And, therefore, Metaphors are excluded from serving in a Definition, because,

πάντα ὅσα ἐς τὸ κατὰ μεταφορὰν λεγόμενον, because, *whatever is metaphorically spoken*, as he has noted in his *Topicks*, is *obscure and uncertain*. Wherefore, I see not how *informingly* the Greek Fathers speak, in using the Term, *Fire*, instead of some more proper Words to have set out the true Nature of a Spirit; and I must ingenuously declare, that they might have as well divided *Ventus* or *Fumus*, or the Reek of a Cauldron, into Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative, as *Ignis*, for any Advantage that *Ignis* has to set out the proper Nature of a Spirit.

THE main Thing is, that it looks as if there were an αὐτοκίνησις, or *Self-moving* in Fire, it being in perpetual Motion; but this is a plain Fallacy, for the Parts of the Flame are not *self-moved*, but they are moved of another: As when you apply a lighted Candle to light another Candle, the Parts of the Wick, and Wax, or Tallow, are put into the Motion by the moved Parts of the lighted Candle, and so all the Particles of the Candle by degrees are put into Motion by the Particles of the present Flame, the Air also assisting, which yet pass away as a River, as I noted above. But if you alledge, that Fire and Flame, as long as it is, is in Motion, and so fitly sets out the *Self-Activity* of a Spirit, so I say, *Fume* and *Reek*, as long as they are, are in Motion, and so is *Wind* especially, and the more like a Spirit in this Regard, it being so hard to find out what gives it its Motion, so that it looks more like a Self-moving Being. So little Information is there in calling a Spirit, *Fire*, more than if it were called *Fume*, or *Reek*, or *Wind*, and therefore the *Instruction* must needs be very slender and dilute. And as no Body will say *Fume*, or *Reek*, or *Wind*, is of three Kinds, Intellectual, Sensitive and Vegetative, but, at first Sight, it would appear a meer *Misinformation*, so as certainly, to say that *Fire* is distinguished into these Species, Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative, would look like the Distribution of a Whole into Parts disagreeing with the same Whole, which were a foul *Misinformation* indeed, and contrary to the known Rules of Logick. And this I may be the more bold to aver, because I have up and down in my Writings demonstrated the Incapacity of *Matter*, for such Functions as these.

Is *Fire* Intellectual? Certainly then the *Sun* as soon as any, and some *Materialists* would have it so; but I think I have proved sufficiently, in my Preface to the *Immortality of the Soul*, the Madness and Repugnancy of that Opinion. Is *Fire* Sensitive? I have proved in that Treatise, that no Matter whatsoever, whether Fire, Water, or Air is capable of such Impressions from sensible Objects, as we are conscious to ourselves of. And to pretend, that Fire is *Vegetative*, that is to say *Plastical*, is wonderfully repugnant to the Nature of it, for whatever Nature is *Plastical*, it is the *Ἐνδελέχεια* (*Endelechia*) of that Body which it does form and organize, and therefore it must *δέειν* as well as *εἰλάν*, it must hold together and bind, as well as move the Matter, whenas the Property of *Fire*, is only to disperse and consume, for it puts all into an Hurry and Motion, and that is all that we can rationally conceive that *Fire* can do, whenas *Frost* and *Cold* forms pretty Devices and gay Flourishes in Snow and Ice, and on Windows and Doors of Cellars. But it may be, you will say, the *Greek* Fathers did not mean *Fire* in my Sense, which bears along with it such Absurdities; I desire then to know, in what Sense they understood *Fire*, and if they had not been more *informing*, if they had defined precisely what they meant by *Fire*, before they would divide it into Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative; but if they will say one Thing and mean another, they must needs bring the Reader into Error and *Mis-information*. If they meant *Spirit*, they should have said *Spirit*, and if they meant Spirit properly so called, they should have declared its Nature, that it was Substance *immaterial*, or to that Sense, before they distributed it into its Kinds.

S E C T. XXVII.

That the Greek Fathers, in dividing Fire instead of Spirit into Intellective, Sensitive, and Vegetative, do not speak as informingly as are the Notions of Penetrability, and Indivisibility, and that a specifick Difference, in a Species, implies an opposite Difference thereto, in the opposite Species.

AN D thus I think I have clearly shewn that the Fathers, in dividing *Fire* into Intellective, Sensitive, and Vegetative, do not speak tolerably and informingly; whence it will be a very easie Task to shew, that they do not speak as informingly as are the Notions of *Penetrability* and *Indivisibility*. For certainly, unless the Greek Fathers thought all Things that are to be material, (which there is no Likelihood in the Earth they should, the Greek Philosophy of *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and *Aristotle* being at hand to instruct them better) if instead of *Fire* they had put *Spirit*, and intimated it to be a Substance immaterial, they had spoke more perspicuously and more informingly than they did. This I conceive is undeniably true.

AN D now I appeal to your self, *Divisibility* and *Impenetrability* being the known and universally acknowledged essential Property or Character of *Matter* or *Body*, how naturally, or rather, how necessarily the opposite Species to *Body*, viz. *Spirit*, is found to be *Indivisible* and *Penetrable*. As in those two opposite Species under *Animal*, viz. *Homo* and *Brutum*, if it be once acknowledged that *Brutum* is *Animal Irrationale*, and that *Irrationale* is the specifick Difference, its opposite Species *Homo* must needs be *Animal Rationale*. This is so plain and convictive, that I cannot here but remind you of your undervaluing your cognitive Faculties, and of my Presage, that I should discover that you are able to understand more of the Nature of a created Spirit, than you did profess in the last of those seven Propositions I above deduced from that Paragraph. For you have gone thus much further, namely, To the *Penetrability* and the *Indivisibility* belonging essentially and inseparably to the Nature of a *Spirit* in general, (which therefore will take in created *Spirits*) which you cannot avoid the admitting of, from so clear Method of Demonstration.

S E C T. XXVIII.

That God can create an Indivisible Being, though of a large Metaphysical Amplitude, or else he were not God.

AND for the Possibility of these proper and essential Attributes of a *Spirit*, I think I have made it good in my short *Discourse of the true Notion of a Spirit*, against all pretended Objections: And the greatest Difficulty touching the *Indiscernibility* of a *Spirit*, acknowledged to have a *Metaphysical Amplitude* or *Extension*, can be none to him that considers how much more easie it is to conceive what is immediately, and of its own Essence one, to be Indiscernible, than how that which is discernible into Parts can at all hold together, and acknowledges the Immense Essence of the Deity, which yet is absolutely Indivisible or Indiscernible, and the Omnipotence of the same Deity, who therefore can easily create *Spirits* according to the Image of himself, tho' with a finite Amplitude, but Indiscernible; that is to say, That he can create a Being, (which, in that it is a Being, necessarily implies Amplitude in it) which is *Ens unum per se & non per aliud*, and of such an Amplitude as is Indiscernible, not upon the account of its Smallness, because it can be no smaller, but upon account of the *immediate Union*, or rather *Oneness* of its Essence, be it as large as you please.

Otherwise God were only able to create *Metaphysical Monads*, or *spiritual Points*, answering to the physical Points or *Monads* of Matter; than which, to a sagacious and philosophical Mind, that is thoroughly persuaded of the Divine Omnipotency, nothing can be more absurd or ridiculous. And if you will say, That if he should create such a *Spirit* with Metaphysical Amplitude, which, though so large, himself cannot divide and sever into Parts, he would thereby puzzle his own Omnipotency; the same may be said of the *Metaphysical Monads*, and at this Rate he shall be allowed to create nothing, no not so much as Matter, nor himself indeed to be; for that cannot be God, from whom all other Things are not produced and created

S E C T. XXIX.

How naturally the above-mentioned Distribution in the Greek Fathers of Fire into Intellectual, Sensitive and Vegetative, belongs to Spirit, according to the Definition in the preceding Discourse of the true Notion of a Spirit. And that the Effects of the Kinds of Spirit, compriz'd in that general Definition, are all the Phænomena in the World.

WHEREFORE these Things being so plain, I conceive it will be no great Immodesty in me to hope, that my Definition of a Spirit being this, (an immaterial Substance intrinsically indued with Life and the Faculty of Motion) and virtually containing in it *Penetrability* and *Indiscerpi-bility*, (for *Immaterial* include those two as you have seen) will approve itself more *informing* than the defining of a Spirit by *Fire*, which may heat the Fancy, and fill the Sails of Imagination, as I said before, but instructs us little or nothing of the true and proper Notion of a Spirit.

And then it being noted in that Definition, that Life and Motion intrinsically issue from this *immaterial* Substance, Spirit, here you may see how fitly the Greek Fathers Division of it, (not of *Fire*) is made into Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative, and what easie and natural Sense it will be. Thus I love to philosophize without Tumour, Pomp, or Metaphors. *Fire* indeed is more Phantasmatical, and the Object of Sense and Fancy; but *immaterial* Substance more rational, and the Object of our Intellectual Faculties.

But if we love to have all our Faculties furnished and filled with Objects, we may remember that this Definition of a Spirit, viz. *An immaterial Substance intrinsically indued with Life, and a Faculty of Motion*, though it make no Noise in itself, nor swells the Fancy with such glaring Notions as *Fire* and *Light*, yet this Life and Faculty of Motion, in this immaterial Substance, distributed into its Kinds, represents all the Pageantry of the World, and the Pomp thereof, *Fire* and *Light*, and Clouds and Thunder, and all the Phænomena of Nature, by its Actings on the Matter of the Universe; besides the Intellectual Operations it performs in the rational Orders of Being: And

Part of that Life and Motion, comprehended in that general Definition, enables me to write what I write, for a more distinct *Information* of you, than you have from those Greek Fathers, which seem to have *misinformed* you, touching the Nature of a Spirit, if you have not mis-understood them, and so misinformed yourself.

S E C T. XXX.

The great Usefulness of the Notion of the Indivisibility, or Indiscerpibility of Spirits.

AND now I have thus cleared up Things, I am persuaded, If you were again to write your Judgment of my Description of a Spirit, you would not say of *Penetrability* and *Indivisibility*, perhaps these also may be useful, but you would come off roundly, and with Assurance declare, that they are not only *useful* but *true*; for in my Judgment, unless they be *true*, they are not *useful*; for I am no *Piæ fraudes*, but for plain Dealing, and for transacting all Things *bona Fide*, as well in *Spirituals* as *Temporals*. But that they are *true*, I think I have sufficiently made good already, and hinted something before of their *Usefulness*.

For, unless this be of the Nature of a Spirit to be *Indiscerpible*, Philosophy affords no Succour to Natural Religion, nor contributes any thing to the Assurance of our personal Subsistence after the Dissolution of this mortal Body.

But the *Soul*, being *Fire*, will mingle with the subtil Element of *des Cartes*, as sure as, if it were merely Breath, it would vanish into the soft Air, as I noted above. But being acknowledged an *immaterial* Being, such as I have described, and intrinsically indued with Life and Motion, it is able by its *Constrictive* Faculty, or *Statick* Power, to maintain its Vehicle against the most blustering Winds, and to keep itself from being blown into Pieces, and dispersed like Fume or Reek, and from being extinct like a Candle taken out of the Lanthorn, and committed to the uncertain Blasts of the moveable Air. This for the *Usefulness* of the *Indiscerpibility* of *Spirits*.

S E C T. XXXI.

The necessary Usefulness of the Notion of the Penetrability of Spirits.

AND now, for the *Penetrability of Spirits*, it is also plainly not only useful, but necessary, that they penetrate the Matter, else how could they be the *Ἐνδελεχίαι* *Endelechie* thereof, and inform it and actuate it? And, if they could not penetrate their own Parts, how could they be contracted, so as to be commensurate to the Body of a small *Fœtus* in the Womb, which, as I have heard from some skilful Midwives, have sometimes been found as little as a Bee, and yet in human Shape and Form: But unless we will patch up a Soul by Pieces, to enable it to be commensurate to the Body when it is come to Man's Stature, that very *Soul*, nothing added to it that was contracted into so small a Compass before, after expands itself by degrees to the Amplitude of the grown Body of a Man. Which therefore plainly implies the *Penetrability of Spirits*, as well as sets out the *Usefulness* thereof. But it is sufficient to touch only upon these Things.

S E C T. XXXII.

That Logical Matter and Form are nothing but Indeterminata, Amplitudo, and Differentia, the two incomplete Principles of Ens quatenus Ens, and therefore imply no physical Materiality.

WE are now come near the Conclusion of your Letter, but I will take in your short *Postscript*, before I consider that, *You make a Spirit*, say you, *to be Ens*, ideoque unum, verum, &c. And that *True* denotes the *Answerableness* of the Thing to its own proper Idea, and implies a right Matter and Form duly conjoined. Upon this you raise this Question, *Do not you here make Spirits Material? But no doubt*, say you, *whether to be called Material or Substantial, the Form is not an adjoining Thing, but the Form of a simple Essence is but an inadequate Conceptus, making no Composition.* To this I answer, That I do not make *Spirits* material in any Sense derogatory to their Nature and

and Perfections. And whereas I speak of right *Matter* and *Form*, if you had observed that, that *Matter* and *Form*, you speak of, is a *Matter* and *Form* that belongs to *Ens quatenus Ens*, you could not imagine this would infer any *physical* Materiality in *Spirits*, because it is *Matter* in a most general Notion prescinded from all particular Kinds of Being whatsoever, and therefore belongs to Beings truly *Immaterial* as well as *Material*.

It is only *Materia* and *Forma Logica*, that is there meant, nor is the *Form* adjoined in a *physical* Sense to the *Matter*, unless where the *Form* and *Matter* are Substances really distinct, as the Soul of Man and his Body. But they are called also *Matter* and *Form*, tho' they be only mentally distinct in some other Beings; and consequently can be only mentally said to be adjoined the one to the other, as if they had been once two, whenas they really are but one Thing. As you say well, the *Form* of any simple Essence is but an Inadequate *Conceptus* of the Essence, and makes no *physical* Composition. See my *Enchiridion Metaphysicum*, Cap. 2. Sect. 7, 8. and you will understand there what I mean by Logical *Matter* and *Form*, which are the incomplex Principles of *Ens quatenus Ens*, and are nothing else but *Indeterminata Amplitudo* and *Differentia*; so that I need no longer here insist on this *Matter*.

S E C T. XXXIII.

The Occasion of the Psychopyrist's Letter, and this Answer of the Author of the foregoing Discourse of The true Notion of a Spirit, and what Hopes he conceived of undeceiving the Psychopyrist, by engaging him to peruse that Treatise.

NOW for the Conclusion itself, wherein you crave Pardon for these curt Expressions of Thoughts, which I desired concerning the Description of a Spirit. To this I say, That your Expressions are not so curt, but that you have sufficiently conveyed your Mind to me, if I be not much mistaken, and therefore Pardon is not so properly due to you as Thanks; and because you had a Mind I should peruse some Notions of yours, which you had entertained, to know how near mine and they would meet, I desired you attentively and considerately first to peruse that brief Discourse of mine, touching the true and genuine Notion of a Spirit. Whereby I conceived you would easily discern, what Agreement, or Difference, there were in our Conceptions, touching this Matter. And I having writ so clearly and distinctly, so digestedly and coherently, as I thought, touching this Subject in that Treatise, I thought it also hopeful that you would fully discern Truth to be on my Side, and that there were not, nor needed to be, any other Notions of a Spirit in general, than what I have so evidently and orderly set out, and so carefully defended against all imaginable Allegations or Pretensions.

S E C T.

S E C T. XXXIV.

The Impediments to true Knowledge; and the full Agreement of the Author of the foregoing Discourse with the learned Pſychopyriſt in the laſt Clause of his Letter, viz. If God make us truly holy, we ſhall quickly know more to our Satisfaction.

BUT I leave every one to think as well as he can in philoſophical Speculations, being affured that every one would get to the Truth, if he could reach it: It being an Imperfection and Blemiſh to him to be found in Error; though I queſtion whether all Men take the beſt Courſe to attain to Truth, but they would gladly have it, if they might part with nothing for it; not with their beloved Lazineſs, nor with their pre-conceived Opinions, which they have a Fondneſs for, becauſe they have chanced ſo long ago to eſpouſe them, and therefore cannot abide to think of a Divorce; not with their ſenſual Pleaſures or their Worldly-mindedneſs, nor with that ſweet Conceit, or pleaſing Preſumption, that what they opine is more like to be true, than the Opinion of any other Man, tho' they bring no plain Demonſtration for it.

FOR to come to the laſt Clause of all in your Letter, which is the beſt; and in which I moſt firmly and heartily agree with you, which is this, *If God make us truly holy, we ſhall quickly know more to our Satisfaction.* I think, that the Purification of the Soul, from all Uncleanneſs of *Fleſh* and *Spirit*, is abſolutely requiſite for him that would ſucceſsfully philoſophize, eſpecially in Metaphyſical or Theological Speculations: And I commend your Judgment in that you ſay, *If God makes us truly holy.* By vertue of which true Holineſs, I ſuppoſe we ſhall freed, not only from the Dulneſs of *Superſtition*, and Bluſter of *Enthuſiaſm*, from the Prejudices of both our *Education* and *Complexion*, and from the Unbridleneſs and Impetuoſity of our own *Self-will* and *Deſires* in Things that look not ſo commendably on it; but alſo from any *vain Deſire of Knowledge it ſelf*, which bears ſuch a fair and commendable Show with it: We ſhall, I ſay, condemn our ſelves as of a great Folly and Miſcarriage, eſpecially in Contemplations Metaphyſical, Theological, and Moral: If we find
ſuch

such a false Appetite in ourselves in those Things, as that we would *know* meerly to *know*, or (which is worse) to be *known*.

WHICH is no sound Constitution of Mind, nor becoming an *holy Man*, who has no false Appetite to Knowledge, but only such as an healthful and temperate Man has to his Meat, to eat such, and so much as enables Nature rightly and firmly to perform all the Functions of the natural Life: So all Desire of Knowledge in those Contemplations I spoke of before, that exceeds the only due Ends of such Knowledge, which is to corroborate our Faith in *GOD*, and in his Son *JESUS CHRIST*, and to confirm our Belief of a glorious Immortality after this Life, to promote true Devotion, Mortification, and Regeneration, or the Renovation of our lapsed Natures into the lost Image of God: All Desire of Knowledge, that tends not to this End, is but a Disease with a truly holy Man, nor relishes better with him, than to feed on Chaff, Feathers, or dry Straw, relisheth with a natural Man.

AND we may be sure, he, whose Appetite is thus sound and regular, and desires no Knowledge but such as is the real Food of the New-Birth in him, shall not fail to draw in all wholesome and useful Knowledge, from the Fountain of all true Wisdom, even from the Father of Lights, from whom is every good and perfect Gift. Whenas a false Appetite to Knowledge, which only feeds our Pride, will expose us, besides all fortuitous Errors, to the ludicrous Impostures of vagrant Spirits, that sport themselves with the vain Curiosities of deluded Mankind. Not to add that a Man thus trifles away that precious Time, which is much better spent in Examination of the Sincerity of our own Hearts, and in earnest Breathings towards God, that he would be pleased to free us from that Bondage of Corruption we find ourselves held in, and would perfect the New-Birth, and consummate the Image of his Son in us, than in teasing of unnecessary Notions into useless and endless Distinctness and Multiplicities, and such as nothing at all contribute to our great and everlasting Concern. I say, I am perfectly of your Mind in this, That he, that is thus *truly holy*, will soonest know more to his Satisfaction: For he, that feeds the young Ravens that call upon him, will never suffer his own Birth to starve, for Want of due Food in the Soul of Man; and he that thus philosophizes,
affecting

affecting no Knowledge out of Curiosity, but only to feed and strengthen the Divine Birth in him, will haply know, with Ease, more than himself had the Curiosity to know, and more than the Curiosity of those, that are out of this Way, are ever likely to be in a Capacity to reach to of themselves, or to receive, when offered to them from others.

THIS will not down with all Men; but as many as are persuaded of it, it is their Duty to improve it to their present Satisfaction here, and everlasting Comfort hereafter. I did not think to be thus large, when I began my Letter, but one Thing has drawn on another, I know not how; but I hope nothing has passed my Pen, but what may be useful to a serious and intelligent Reader. Wherefore I leave all to your candid Consideration, and rest, &c.

HENRY MORE.

The End of the First Part.



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Saducismus Triumphatus.



Sadducismus Triumphatus:

Or, A full and plain

EVIDENCE,

Concerning

Witches and Apparitions.

THE SECOND PART.

PROVING,

(Partly by Holy Scripture, partly by a choice
Collection of modern Relations) the real
Existence of APPARITIONS, SPIRITS,
and WITCHES.

By JOSEPH GLANVILL, Chaplain to his Majesty King
CHARLES II. and Fellow of the Royal Society.



THE PREFACE.

I KNOW it is Matter of very little Credit to be a Relator of Stories, and I, of all Men living, have the least Reason to be fond of the Employment; for I never had any Faculty in telling of a Story, and have always had a particular Indisposition and Backwardness to the writing any such: But of all Relations of Fact, there are none like to give a Man such Trouble and Disreputation, as those that relate to Witchcraft and Apparitions, which so great a Party of Men (in this Age especially) do so rally and laugh at, and, without more ado, are resolved to explode and despise, as meer Winter Tales and old Wives Fables; such they will call and account them, be their Truth and Evidence what it will; for they have unalterably fix'd and determinated the Point, That Witches and Apparitions are Things ridiculous, incredible, foppish, impossible, and therefore all Relations, that assert them, are Lyes, Cheats, and Delusions; and those, that afford any Credit to them, are credulous Gulls, and silly easy Believers.

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WHICH Things if they should not be so, it would spoil many a Jest, and those, who thought themselves great Wits, must have the Discomfort of finding they are mistaken. They must fall back into common and vulgar Belief, and lose the Pretence to extraordinary Sagacity, on which they valued themselves so much, and be brought to be afraid of another World, and be subjected to the common Terrors which they despised before, as the Juggles and Contrivances of Priests and Politicians, and so must see themselves under a Necessity of altering their Lives, or of being undone. These are very hard and grievous Things, and therefore the Stories of Witches and Apparitions must be exploded and run down, or all is lost.

THIS is the Case with Multitudes of brisk confident Men in our Days; so that to meddle on this Subject is to affront them greatly, to provoke their Rage and Contempt, and to raise the Devil of their Wit and Buffoonry. All which considered, it must be confess'd, to be a very bold and adventurous Thing, to undertake the Province in which I have engaged. And besides the Provocation which it must needs give to the Huffers and Witlings, there is another Sort, whose good Opinion I greatly value: Some sober and ingenious Spirits, who, upon other Grounds, doubt of the Existence of Witches, who may be apt to judge me guilty of Credulity, for the Pains I take in this Matter. This also hath been some Trouble and Discouragement.

AND, upon the Whole, I am assured before-hand, that no Evidence of Fact possible is sufficient to remove the obstinate Prejudices of divers resolved Men, and therefore I know I must fall under their heavy Censures, of which I have consider'd the worst, and
am,

am, I hope, pretty well prepared to bear the severest of them. But no Man would expose himself to all this for nothing, nor have I. There were Reasons for this Engagement, and they were briefly these that follow.

HAVING been at Mr. Mompeffon's House, in the Time of the Disturbance, seen and heard somewhat myself, and received an Account from Mr. Mompeffon, and other credible Persons of the whole Trouble; I was persuaded to publish, and to annex the full Account of it to the second or third Edition of my Considerations concerning Witchcraft, to which the Story had near Relation. This I did, and they passed two or three Editions together, without much farther Trouble to me. But, of late, I have heard from all Parts, and am amazed at it, that so strongly attested Relation is run down in most Places as a Delusion and Imposture; and that Mr. Mompeffon and myself have confessed all to be a Cheat and Contrivance.

CONCERNING this, I have been asked a thousand Times, till I have been weary of answering, and the Questionists would scarce believe I was in earnest, when I denied it. I have received Letters about it from known Friends and Strangers out of many Parts of the three Kingdoms, so that I have been haunted almost as bad as Mr. Mompeffon's House. Most of them have declared, that it was most confidently reported, and believed in all the respective Parts, that the Business was a Cheat, that Mr. Mompeffon had confessed so much, and I the same; so that I was quite tired with denying and answering Letters about it. And, to free myself from the Trouble, I at last resolved to reprint the Story by itself, with my Confutation of the Invention that
concerned

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concerned me, and a Letter I received from Mr. Mompeffon (now printed in this Book) which cleared the Matter, as to him.

THIS accordingly, I committed to my Bookseller's Hands, some Years since, to be printed. But, it being not done, I was continually importuned by new Solicitations and Questions, and, at length, out comes Mr. Webster's confident Book, in which he saith, That my Story of the Drummer, and the other of Witchcraft, are as odd and silly, as any can be told, or read, and, as fictitious, incredible, ludicrous, and ridiculous, as any can be, p. 11. And again, p. 278. Must not all Persons, that are of sound Understanding, judge and believe, that all those strange Tricks, related by Mr. Glanvill of his Drummer, and Mr. Mompeffon's House, which he calls the Dæmon of Tedworth, were abominable Cheats and Impostures, as I am inform'd by Persons of good Quality, they were discovered to be.

BUT neither did this Confidence, nor his Book (I confess) much move me; for I was very loth to be troubled any more in this Matter. But, at last, divers eminent Men, and learned Friends of mine, having taken Notice of it, and being troubled to see so considerable an Evidence against Sadducism, as Mr. Mompeffon's Story is, so impudently run down by purposely contrived Lyes, they urg'd me very much to reprint the Relation, with my Considerations about Witchcraft; and so give some Check to the Insultation and Confidence of Mr. Webster.

TO this, I stood long dis-inclined, but being press'd by the Consideration, that such a Re-inforcement might be a very considerable and seasonable Service to Religion, against the stupid Sadducism
and

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and Infidelity of the Age, I was persuaded: And, having signified my being now inclined to the Design, I received great Encouragement from some of the greatest Spirits of our Age and Nation, who earnestly animated me to it. Having resolved, I be-
thought me of making a small Collection of the most credible and best attested Stories of this Kind, that were near and modern, to accompany the Second I had printed, and to confirm and prove the main Subject.

N.B. This is the Whole of the Preface, that was found amongst Mr. Glanvill's Papers, saving five or six Words, which, being superfluous to the Sense of this last Clause, and beginning something else not perfected, I thought better left out. But as for Mr. Mompeffon's Letter to Mr. Glanvill, which is mentioned in this Preface, and designed to be printed in this intended Edition, it is out of the original Copy as follows.





Mr. M O M P E S S O N ' S Letter to Mr. G L A N -
V I L L .

Worthy S I R ,

M E E T I N G with Dr. Pierce accidentally at Sir Robert Button's, he acquainted me of something that passed between my Lord of R—— and yourself about my Troubles, &c. To which (having but little Leisure) I do give you this Account, that I have been very often, of late, asked the Question, whether I have not confessed to his Majesty, or any other, a Cheat discovered about that Affair. To which I gave, and shall, to my dying Day, give the same Answer, That I must bely myself, and perjure myself also, to acknowledge a Cheat in a Thing, where I am sure there was none, nor could be any, as I, the Minister of the Place, and two other honest Gentlemen, deposed at the Assizes, upon my impleading the Drummer. If the World will not believe it, it shall be indifferent to me, praying God to keep me from the same, or the like Affliction. And, although I am sure this most damnable Lye does pass for current amongst one Sort of People in the World, invented only, I think, to suppress the Belief of the Being either of God or Devil; yet I question not, but the Thing obtains Credit enough amongst those, whom I principally desire should retain a more charitable Opinion of me, than to be any Way a Deviser of it, only to be talk'd of in the World, to
my

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*my own Disadvantage and Reproach ; of which Sort,
I reckon you one, and rest in haste,*

*Tedworth,
Nov. 8,
1672.*

S I R,

Your obliged Servant,

J O. M O M P E S S O N.

N. B. Concerning the Attestation of Mr. *Mompesson*, and others upon Oath at the Assizes, the same is mentioned also, and their Names expressed in a Letter to Mr. *James Collins*, which Letter from the original Copy is as follows.



The P R E F A C E.



Mr. M O M P E S S O N 's Letter to Mr. C O L L I N S.

S I R,

I RECEIVED yours, and had given you an earlier Answer, had I not been prevented by some Journeys. I now give you this, That, as to any additional Part of the Story, I shall not trouble you with at present, not knowing, what is either already published, or omitted, in regard I have not any of Mr. Glanvill's Books by me. I never had but one, which was the last Year borrowed of me, for the Use of the Lord Hollis, and is not yet returned. But as to the Business of the Assizes (which is likely to work most on the Incredulous, because the Evidence was given on Oath) I shall here enlarge it to you.

W H E N the Drummer was escaped from his Exile, which he was sentenced to at Gloucester for a Felony, I took him up, and procured his Commitment to Salisbury Jail, where I indicted him as a Felon, for this supposed Witchcraft about my House. When the Fellow saw me in earnest, he sent to me from the Prison, that he was sorry for my Affliction, and if I would procure him Leave to come to my House, in the Nature of an Harvest-Man, he did not question, but he should do me good, as to that Affair. To which, I sent Answer, I knew he could do me no good in any honest Way, and therefore rejected it. The Assizes came on, where I indicted him on the Statute Primo Jacobi cap. 12. where you may find, that to feed, employ, or reward any evil Spirit is Felony. And
the

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the Indictment against him was, that he did quendam malum Spiritum negociare, the Grand Jury found the Bill upon the Evidence, but the Petty Jury acquitted him, but not without some Difficulty.

T H E Evidence upon Oath were myself, one Mr. William Maton, one Mr. Walter Dowse, all yet living, and I think of as good Repute, as any this Country has in it, and one Mr. Jo. Cragg, then Minister of the Place, but since dead. We all deposed several Things that we conceived impossible to be done by any natural Agents, as the Motion of Chairs, Stools, and Bed-Staves, no body being near them, the Beating of Drums in the Air over the House in clear Nights, and nothing visible; the shaking of the Floor and strongest Parts of the House in still and calm Nights, with several other Things of the like Nature: And that, by other Evidence, it was applied to him.

F O R some going out of these Parts to Gloucester, whilst he was there in Prison, and visiting him, he asked them, What News in Wilts? To which they replied, they knew none. No, says the Drummer, did you not hear of a Gentleman's House that was troubled with the beating of Drums? They told him again, if that were News, they heard enough of that. Ay, says the Drummer, it was because he took my Drum from me; if he had not taken away my Drum, that Trouble had never befallen him, and he shall never have his Quiet again, till I have my Drum, or Satisfaction from him.

T H I S was deposed by one Thomas Avis, Servant to one Mr. Thomas Sadler, of North-Wilts, and these Words had like to have cost the Drummer his Life. For else, although the Things were never so true,

THE PREFACE.

true, it could not have been rightly applied to him, more than to another. I should only add, that the before-mentioned Witnesses were Neighbours, and deposed, that they heard and saw these Things almost every Day or Night, for many Months together. As to the Sculpture you intend, you best understand the Advantage, I think it needless. And those Words, You shall have Drumming enough, is more than I heard him speak : I rest

*Tedworth,
Aug. 8.
1674.*

Your loving Friend,

JO. MOMPESSEON.





A N
I N T R O D U C T I O N
T O T H E

Proof of the Existence of *Apparitions, Spirits, and Witches.*

The great Usefulness and Seasonableness of the present Argument, touching Witches, and Apparitions, in Subserviency to Religion.

TH E Question, whether there are *Witches*, or not, is not Matter of vain Speculation, or of indifferent Moment; but an Inquiry of very great and weighty Importance. For, on the Resolution of it, depends the Authority and just Execution of some of our *Laws*; and which is more, our *Religion*, in its main Doctrines is nearly concerned. There is no one, that is not very much a Stranger to the World, but knows how *Atheism* and *Infidelity* have advanced in our Days, and how openly they now dare to shew themselves in asserting and disputing their vile Cause. Particularly the *Distinction* of the *Soul* from the *Body*, the Being of *Spirits*, and a *Future Life*, are Assertions extremely despised and opposed by the Men of this Sort, and, if we lose those Articles, all Religion comes to nothing. They are clearly and fully asserted in the sacred Oracles, but those Wits have

have laid aside these Divine Writings. They are proved by the best Philosophy and highest Reason; but the Unbelievers, divers of them, are too shallow to be capable of such Proofs, and the more subtle are ready to scepticize away those Grounds.

BUT there is one Head of Arguments that troubles them much, and that is, the Topick of *Witches* and *Apparitions*. If such there are, it is a sensible Proof of Spirits and another Life, an Argument of more direct Force than any Speculations, or abstract Reasonings, and such an one as meets with all the Sorts of *Infidels*. On which Account, they labour with all their Might, to persuade themselves and others, that *Witches* and *Apparitions* are but melancholick *Dreams*, or crafty *Impostures*; and here it is generally, that they begin with the young Men, whose Understanding they design to debauch.

THEY expose and deride all Relations of *Spirits* and *Witchcraft*, and furnish them with some little Arguments, or rather Colours, against their *Existence*. And Youth is very ready to entertain such Opinions as will help them to fancy, they are wiser than the Generality of Men. And when they have once swallowed this Opinion, and are *sure* there are no *Witches* nor *Apparitions*, they are prepared for the Denial of *Spirits*, a *Life to come*, and all the other Principles of *Religion*. So that I think it will be a considerable and very seasonable Service to it, fully to debate and settle this Matter, which I shall endeavour in the following Sheets; and I hope so, as not to impose upon myself, or others, by empty Rhetorickations, fabulous Relations, or sophistical Reasonings, but treat on the Question with that Freedom and Plainness, that becomes one that is neither fond, fanciful, nor credulous.

S E C T. II.

The true stating of the Question, by defining what a Witch and Witchcraft is.

I K N O W that a great Part of the Labour, in most Controversies, useth to be bestowed on Things impertinent to the main Business, and by them the Minds of both Sides are so confounded, that they wander widely from the Point in Difference, and at last lose it quite. It would quickly be thus in the Question of *Witchcraft*, and usually is so, without previous Care to avoid it. But I shall take the best I can, that my Pains, on this Subject, be not so misbestowed, but closely applied to the Purpose: And, in order thereunto, shall briefly define the Terms of the Question, and then set down what I grant to mine Adversaries, and what I demand from them. And when these *Preliminaries* are well adjusted, we shall proceed with more Distinctness, and still see whereabouts we are, and know how far what is affirmed, or proved, reaches the main Matter in debate.

THE Question is, Whether there are *Witches*, or not, Mr. *Webster* accuseth the Writers on the Subject of Defect, in not laying down a perfect Description of a *Witch* or *Witchcraft*, or explaining what they mean, pag. 20. What his perfect Description is, I do not know; but I think I have described a *Witch* or *Witchcraft* in my *Considerations*, sufficiently to be understood, and the Conception which I, and, I think, most Men have is, That a *Witch* is one, who can do, or seems to do strange Things, beyond the known Power of Art and ordinary Nature, by vertue of a Confederacy with evil Spirits. Strange Things, not Miracles; these are the extraordinary Effects of Divine Power, known and distinguished by their Circumstances, as I shall shew in due Place. The

strange Things are really performed, and are not all *Impostures* and *Delusions*. The *Witch* occasions, but is not the *principal* Efficient; she seems to do it, but the *Spirit* performs the Wonder; sometimes immediately, as in *Transportations* and *Possessions*; sometimes by applying other natural Causes, as in raising *Storms*, and inflicting *Diseases*; sometimes using the *Witch* as an *Instrument*, and either by the Eyes, or Touch, conveying malign Influences: And these Things are done by vertue of a *Covenant*, or *Compact*, betwixt the *Witch* and an *evil Spirit*. A *Spirit*, viz. an *intelligent Creature* of the invisible World, whether one of the evil Angels called *Devils*, or an inferior *Dæmon* or *Spirit*, or a wicked *Soul* departed; but one that is able and ready for Mischiefe, and whether altogether incorporeal, or not, appertains not to this Question.

S E C T. III.

That neither the Notation of the Name, that signifies indifferently, nor the false Additions of others to the Notion of a Witch, can any Way disettle the Author's Definition.

THIS I take to be a plain Description of what we mean by a *Witch* and *Witchcraft*: What Mr. Webster, and other Advocates for *Witches*, talk concerning the Words whereby these are exprest, that they are improper and metaphorical, signifying this, and signifying that, is altogether idle and impertinent. The Word *Witch* signifies originally a wise Man, or rather a wise Woman. The same doth *Saga* in the *Latin*, and plainly so doth *Wizard* in *English*, signify a wise Man, and they are vulgarly called cunning Men or Women. An Art, Knowledge, Cunning, they have that is extraordinary;

ry ; but it is far from true Wisdom, and the Word is degenerated into an ill Sense, as *Magia* is.

So then they are called, and we need look no further ; it is enough, that, by the *Word*, we mean the *Thing* and *Person* I have described, which is the common Meaning ; and Mr *Webster* and the rest prevaricate, when they make it signify an ordinary *Cheat*, a *Couzener*, a *Poisoner*, *Seducer*, and I know not what. Words signify as they are used, and, in common Use, *Witch* and *Witchcraft* do indeed imply these, but they imply more, *viz.* Deluding, Cheating, and Hurting, by the Power of an *evil Spirit*, in *Covenant* with a wicked Man or Woman : This is our Notion of a *Witch*.

Mr. *Webster*, I know, will not have it to be a perfect Description. He adds to the Notion of the *Witch*, he opposeth, *carnal Copulation* with the *Devil*, and *real Transformation* into an *Hare*, *Cat*, *Dog*, *Wolf* ; the same doth Mr. *Wagstaffe*. Which is, as if a Man should define an Angel to be a Creature in the Shape of a Boy with Wings, and then prove there is no such Being. Of all Men, I would not have Mr. *Webster* to make my Definitions for me ; we ourselves are to have the Leave to tell what it is that we affirm and defend. And I have described the *Witch* and *Witchcraft*, that sober Men believe and assert. Thus briefly for Defining.

S E C T. IV.

What Things the Author concedes in this Controversy about Witches and Witchcraft.

I SHALL let the Patrons of *Witches* know what I allow and grant to them :

First, I grant, That there are some witty and ingenious Men of the opposite Belief to me in the Question. Yea, it is accounted a Piece of Wit to laugh at the Belief of *Witches* as silly Credulity. And

some Men value themselves upon it, and pride them in their supposed Sagacity of seeing the Cheat that imposeth on so great a Part of Believing Mankind. And the Stories of *Witches* and *Apparitions* afford a great deal of Subject for Wit, which it is Pity that a witty Man should lose.

Secondly, I own that some of those, who deny *Witches*, have no Design against, nor a Dis-inclination to Religion, but believe Spirits, and a Life to come, as other sober *Christians* do, and so are neither *Atheists*, *Sadducees*, nor *Hobbists*.

Thirdly, I allow that the great Body of Mankind is very credulous, and in this Matter so, that they do believe vain impossible Things in relation to it. That *carnal Copulation* with the *Devil* and *real Transmutation* of Men and Women into other Creatures are such. That People are apt to impute the *Extraordinaries* of Art, or Nature, to *Witchcraft*, and that their *Credulity* is often abused by subtle and designed *Knaves* through these. That there are ten Thousand silly lying Stories of *Witchcraft* and *Apparitions* among the Vulgar. That infinite such have been occasion'd by Cheats and *Popish* Superstitions, and many invented and contrived by the Knavery of *Popish* Priests.

Fourthly, I grant that Melancholy and Imagination have very great Force, and beget strange Persuasions. And, that many Stories of *Witchcraft*, and *Apparitions*, have been but melancholy Fancies.

Fifthly, I know and yield, that there are many strange natural Diseases that have odd Symptoms, and produce wonderful and astonishing Effects beyond the usual Course of Nature, and that such are sometimes falsely ascribed to *Witchcraft*.

Sixthly, I own, the *Popish* Inquisitors, and other Witch-finders, have done much Wrong, that they have destroyed innocent Persons for *Witches*, and that

Watching

Watching and Torture have extorted extraordinary Confessions from some that were not guilty.

Seventhly and Lastly, I grant the Transactions of *Spirits with Witches*, which we affirm to be true and certain, are many of them very strange and uncouth, and that we can scarce give any Account of the Reasons of them, or well reconcile many of those Passages to the commonly received Notion of *Spirits*, and the State of the next World.

IF these Concessions will do mine Adversaries in this Question any Good, they have them freely. And by them I have already almost spoiled all Mr. *Webster's* and Mr. *Wagstaffe's*, and the other Witch-Advocates Books, which prove little else than what I have here granted. And, having been so free in Concessions, I may expect that something should be granted me from the other Party.

N.B. *Those that are mention'd in the second Concession, though they are not Atheists, Sadducees, nor Hobbists; yet, if they deny Witches, it is plain they are Anti-Scripturists, the Scripture so plainly attesting the contrary.*

S E C T. V.

The Postulata which the Author demands of his Adversaries, as his just Right, are, viz.

FIRST, That whether *Witches* are, or are not, is a Question of Fact: For it is in Effect, whether any Men or Women have been, or are in Covenant with *evil Spirits*, and whether they, by the *Spirit's* Help, or he, on their Account, performs such or such Things.

Secondly, That Matter of Fact can only be proved by immediate Sense, or the Testimony of others, *Divine* or *Humane*. To endeavour to demonstrate Fact, by abstract Reasoning and Speculation, is,

as if a Man should prove, that *Julius Cæsar* founded the Empire of *Rome*, by *Algebra*, or *Metaphysicks*. So that what Mr. *Webster* saith, p. 43. That the true and proper *Mediums*, to prove the Actions of *Witches* by, are *Scripture* and sound *Reason*, and not the improper Way of *Testimony* (which we use in the Opposition that *Testimony* stands to *Scripture* and sound *Reason*) is very Nonsense.

Thirdly, That the History of the *Scripture* is not all *Allegory*, but generally hath a plain, literal, and obvious Meaning.

Fourthly, That some *human Testimonies* are credible and certain, viz. They may be so circumstantiated as to leave no Reason of Doubt. For our Senses sometimes report Truth, and all Mankind are not Lyars, Cheats, and Knaves, at least, they are not all Lyars, when they have no Interest to be so.

Fifthly, That, which is sufficiently and undeniably proved, ought not to be denied, because we know not, how it can be, that is, because there are Difficulties in the conceiving of it. Otherwise, *Sense* and *Knowledge* is gone, as well as *Faith*. For the *Modus* of most Things is unknown, and the most obvious in Nature have inextricable Difficulties in the Speculation of them, as I have shewn in my *Scepsis Scientifica*.

Sixthly, and *Lastly*, we are much in the Dark, as to the *Nature* and *Kinds* of *Spirits*, and the particular Condition of the other World. The Angels, Devils, and Souls Happiness and Misery we know, but what Kinds are under these Generals, and what Actions, Circumstances, and Ways of Life under those States, we little understand. These are my *Postulata* or Demands, which, I suppose, will be thought reasonable, and such as need no more Proof.



P R O O F

O F

Apparitions, Spirits, and Witches,

F R O M

H O L Y S C R I P T U R E.

S E C T. I.

The Author's Purpose of proving Apparitions and Witchcraft, to such as believe Scripture, as first from the Apparition of Angels.

AN D having thus prepared my Way, I come to prove, that there are *Witches* against both the Sorts that deny their Existence, *viz.* Those that believe the *Scriptures*, and the Wits or Witlings, that will *not* admit their Testimony. To the First, I shall prove the Being of *Witches* by plain Evidence taken from the divine Oracles ; and to the other, and indeed to both, I shall evince the same by as full and clear Testimonies, as Matter of Fact is capable of, and then answer the opposite Objections, and those particularly of the three late confident Exploders of Witchcraft, Mr. *Webster*, Mr. *Wagstaffe*, and the *Author* of the *Doctrine of Devils*.

T H E Proof I intend shall be of these two Things, *viz.* That *Spirits* have sensibly transacted with Men, and that some have been in such Leagues with them, as to be enabled thereby to do Wonders.

T H E S E sensible Transactions of Spirits with Men are evident from *Apparitions* and *Possessions*. The Apparition

of *Angels*, their Discourses and Predictions, sensible Con-
 verses with Men and Women, are frequently recorded in the
 Scripture. An *Angel* appeared to *Hagar*, *Gen.* xvi. Three
Angels, in the Shape of Men, appeared to *Abraham*,
Gen. xviii. Two to *Lot* in the same Likeness, *Gen.* xix.
 An *Angel* called to *Hagar*, *Gen.* xxi. 17. and so did one to
Abraham, *Gen.* xxij. An *Angel* spake to, and conversed
 with *Jacob* in a Dream, *Gen.* xxxi. One of the same ap-
 peared to *Moses* in the Bush, *Exod.* iij. An *Angel* went
 before the Camp of *Israel*, *Exod.* xiv. An *Angel* met *Ba-*
laam in the Way, *Numb.* xxij. An *Angel* spake to all the
 People of *Israel*, *Judges* ij. An *Angel* appeared to *Gideon*,
Judges vi. and to the Wife of *Manoah*, *Judges* xiiij. An
Angel destroyed the People, *2 Sam.* xxiv. An *Angel*
 appeared to *Elijah*, *1 Kings* xix. An *Angel* smote in the
 Camp of the *A Assyrians* 184,000. *2 Kings* xxxv. An *Angel*
 stood by the Threshing Floor of *Ornan*, *1 Chron.* xxi. 15. An
Angel talked with *Zachariah* the Prophet, *Zach.* i.

AN *Angel* appeared to the two *Mary's* at our Lord's
 Sepulchre, *Matth.* xxviii. An *Angel* foretold the Birth of
John Baptist to *Zachariah* the Priest, *Luke* i. *Gabriel* was
 sent to the Holy Virgin, *Luke* i. 26. An *Angel* appeared
 to the Shepherds, *Luke* ij. An *Angel* opened the Prison
 Door to *Peter* and the rest. *Acts* v. I might accumulate
 many more Instances, but these are enough. And many
 Circumstances of sensible Converse belong to more of them,
 which may be read at large in the respective Chapters.
 And since the Intercourses of *Angels* were so frequent in
 former Days, why should we be averse to the Belief, that
 Spirits sometimes transact with Men now?

N. B. I find, amongst Mr. Glanvill's Papers, the first Linea-
 ments or Strokes of an Answer to Mr. Wagstaffe, and to
 the Author of the Doctrine of Devils, but more fully to
 Mr. Webster, at least seventeen Sheets where he answers
 solidly and substantially, where I can read his Hand, but it
 reaches but to the Sixth Chapter. And, in Truth, he has
 laid about him so well in these Sheets that are published,
 that those may well seem the less necessary.

S E C T. II.

The Evasions his Adversaries use, to escape the Force of these Proofs of Scripture from the Apparitions of Angels, with the Author's Answer.

T H E R E are several Evasions, by which some endeavour to escape these Texts; as First, the *Sadducees* of old, and *Familists* of later Days, who hold, to wit, these, That the Angels, we read of, were but *Divine Graces*; the other, That they were *Divine Phantasms*, created to serve a present Occasion, which ceased to be, as soon as they disappeared. One would think, that none, that ever had read the Scriptures, should entertain such a Conceit as this, that is so contrary to the Account, they every where give of those celestial Creatures. But there is nothing so absurd, but some Men will embrace to support their Opinions.

L E T us consider a little, how differently from this vain Fancy the Scripture describes them. They are called *Spirits*, an Attribute given to God himself, the prime *Subsistence*, who is, by Way of Eminence, called the *Father of Spirits*, not of *Phantasms*. And *Spirits* imports as much *Substance* as *Body*, though without gross Bulk. We read of *elect Angels*, and the Angels that *stand before the Throne of God continually*, and that always behold the Face of God: Of the *fallen Angels*, that kept not their first Station, that are held in Chains of Darkness; and of *everlasting Fire prepared for the Devil and his Angels*, against the Judgment of the great Day. Both had their Order of Superiority and Inferiority, *Michael* and his Angels, the *Dragon* and his Angels. We are made a little lower than the Angels. In Heaven we shall be as the Angels of God. Of the Day of Judgment knoweth no Man, no not the *Angels*. Let all the Angels of God worship him.

W H I C H Descriptions of the *Nature, Order, Condition, Attributes of Angels*, and infinite more such, up and down the Scriptures, are not applicable to *Phantasms*, but demonstratively prove, that the Angels, of whose *Apparitions* we hear so frequently there, were real permanent *Subsistencies*, and not meer *Phantasms* and *Shadows*.

S E C T. III.

That the Angels, that are said to have appeared in Scripture, were not Men-Messengers, but Inhabitants of the invisible World: And whether they eat and drank, or no.

BUT were not those Angels, that so appeared, special Prophets, divine Messengers, sometimes in Scripture confessedly called Angels? They did eat and drink with *Abraham* and *Lot*, by which it should seem that they were real Men. But whoever shall look over the Instances alledged of the Apparition of Angels, and read them in all the Circumstances of the Text, will plainly see that they could not be Men.

SUCH could not be the Angel that spake to *Abraham* and *Hagar* out of Heaven, that conversed with *Jacob* in a Dream, that appeared to *Manoah*, and ascended in his and his Wife's Presence, in the Flame of the Sacrifice, that went before the Camp of *Israel*, that stood before *Balaam* in the Way unseen by him, that smote the Army of the *Assyrians*, that appeared to *Zacharias* in the Temple, and to the *Maries* at the Sepulchre. These must be a Sort of Beings Superiors to Mankind, Angels in the proper Sense, who are sometimes in Scripture called Men, because they appear in our Likeness.

BUT whether these do receive Refection or Sustainence in their own World and State, or not, I will not dispute. It is most probable, and it hath been the Doctrine both of Fathers and Philosophers, that they are vitally united to *Ætherial* and *Heavenly Bodies*, which possibly may need Recruits some such Way, and so Angels Food may be more than a Metaphor: But certainly they cannot eat after our Manner, nor feed on our gross Diet, except in Appearance only; they may make a Shew of doing it, (as the Angel *Raphael* told *Tobit* that he did, *Tob. xii. 19. All those Days I did appear unto you, but I did neither eat nor drink, but you did see a Vision*) but really they do it not: So that when *Abraham's* and *Lot's* Angels are said to eat and drink with them, the Scripture speaks, as to them it seemed. And so the *Jerusalem Targum* reads, *And they seemed as if they did eat and drink.* And we may suppose that

that Mens Conceptions of Angels were not very refined in those Days, nor could they have borne their sensible and free Converses, if they had look'd on them as Creatures of a Nature so distant from their own.

AND therefore afterward, when they were better understood, those to whom they appeared were struck with great Dread and Amazement, and thought they should presently die. Nor do we, as I remember, read any more of the Angels Eating or Drinking, after what seemed to *Abraham* and *Lot*. Indeed *Manoah* invited the Angel to eat, *Judg.* xiii. 15. but it was before he knew he was an Angel, and it is set down in Excuse of the Offer, *v.* 16. *For Manoah knew not that he was an Angel of the Lord*, implying, that the Invitation had been absurd, if he had known it.

I have said this in Answer to the Objection, though the main Cause is not concerned; for though I should grant that *Abraham's* and *Lot's* Angels were Men, yet the other Instances, in which that could not be said, or supposed, are more than enough to carry my Point, That *real* Angels, *Inhabitants* of the *invisible World*, did sometimes sensibly appear.

S E C T. IV.

That Angels are still ministring Spirits, as well as of old.

BUT it will be said, when they did appear, it was upon *Divine Errands*, and God sent them to serve the Ends of his Government and Providence; which I grant, and God Almighty hath the same Ends to serve still; he governs the World now, and his Providence is as watchful as ever, and the Angels are the chief Ministers of that Providence, and ministring Spirits for our Good. The Gospel was ushered in by the *Apparition of Angels*, and many Things done by them in the carrying of it on; and why we should think they may not be sent, and should not appear on Occasion now, I do not see; but this is more than I need say yet, being, for the first Step, only to shew, that Spirits have transacted with Men.

S E C T. V.

Proof from the Apparitions of evil Spirits, recorded in Scripture.

THose, I have mentioned hitherto, have been good and benign Spirits; but *evil Spirits* have also appeared, and sensibly had to do with Mankind. My first Instance of this is one of the first Busineses that was in the World, the Temptation of *Eve* by the *Devil* in the Serpent; an Argument which those, that adhere to the Letter of those three first Chapters, cannot avoid. Evil Angels were sent among the *Egyptians*, *Psal.* lxxviii. 49. and those passed through and smote the Land; but the Destroyers *viz.* the evil Angels were not permitted to come into the *Israelites* Houses, *Exod.* xii. 23. When God asked Satan, whence he came, *Job* i. 7. he answered, from going to and fro in the Earth. By Divine Permission he raised the great Wind that blew down the House upon *Job's* Children, *v.* 19. and smote his Body all over with Boils, *Job* ii. 7. He tempted our Saviour in an external sensible Way, carrying him from Place to Place, and urging the Son of God to worship him, *Mat.* iv. But more of this will appear, by considering the second Head proposed, *viz.* *Possession of evil Spirits.*

S E C T. VI.

Proofs from Possessions of evil Spirits, and that they were not Diseases, as the Witch-Advocates would have them.

THAT such *Possessions* have been, we find frequently and plainly delivered in the History of the Gospel, and so often, that I shall not need to recite Particulars. The Evasion, that the Witch-Advocates have for this, is, That the *Devils* and *unclean Spirits* spoken of in those Places, which our Saviour is said to have cast out, were strange and uncommon *Diseases*, which the *Jews* thought to be *Devils*, and Christ, who came not to teach Men Philosophy, complied with their deceived Apprehension, and the Evangelists speak according to their Conceit in this Matter.

Matter. But if this Answer must pass, then, in the first Place,

FAREWELL all Scripture, it may be made to say what we please; and if, when the Scripture speaks in plain History of *unclean Spirits* and *Devils*, we may understand *Diseases* by it, then what we read of good *Angels* may be *Graces* and *Virtues*, and what we read of *Christ himself* may all be interpreted of the *Christ within*, and so all the Scripture, and all Religion, shall signify what any Man thinks fit.

SECONDLY, the Cure of Diseases is mentioned in many of the Texts, distinctly from the casting out of the Devils; thus *Mat. x. 1.* *He gave the Disciples Power against unclean Spirits to cast them out, and to heal all Manner of Sickneses, and all Manner of Diseases.* This was a different Power from the former, and all *Manner of Sickneses* and *Diseases* implies the uncommon and extraordinary, which our *Sadducees* would have the Devils to be, viz. Diseases, as well as the ordinary and usual Ones are, So *Luke vi. 18.* *He healed them of their Diseases, and those that were vexed with unclean Spirits were brought to him, and he healed them likewise.* And most plainly, *Mat. iv. 24.* *And they brought unto him all sick People, that were taken with divers Diseases and Torments, and those that were possessed with Devils, and those that were Lunatick, and those that had the Palsie, and he healed them.* The Mad-men, and those that had the Falling-sickness, the Distempers, which the Witch-Advocates make Devils of, are here mentioned a-part, and as distinct from those Devils our Saviour cast out.

THIRDLY, Many Things are attributed to those Devils that were cast out, which are not applicable to Diseases. The Devils in the Possessed among the *Gergasens*, *Mat. xviii. 16.* besought Christ, saying, *If thou cast us out, suffer us to go away into the Herd of Swine, and he gave them leave.* *Mark v. 8.* Sure, the Diseases did not beseech him; but, perhaps, the Men did. Had they a Mind to go into the Swine? And did they enter into them? A Sort of Possession, as this, was never heard of, a Beast possess'd with a Man. But St. Luke tells us, they were the Devils that went out of the Men, and entered into the Swine, *Luke viii. 33.* The Men did not go out of themselves, and therefore,

therefore if what went out was not the *Disease*, it was really the *Devil* or *unclean Spirit*.

So *Luke* iv. 33. In the Synagogue there was a Man that had a Spirit of an unclean Devil, and cried out with a loud Voice, saying, *Let us alone* &c. Well, but might not this be the *Man himself* that cried out so? Therefore read a little on, v. 35. *And Jesus rebuked him, viz. him that spake*, saying to the same still, *Hold thy peace, and come out of him*. Which must be another Person distinct from the Man himself, and, who was that? It follows, *And when the Devil had thrown him in the midst, he came out of him*, the same Devil that spake, that our Saviour rebuked, and commanded to come out, which could be no other than a real evil Spirit.

AND that those ejected Devils were not Diseases appears farther, *Mat.* xii. v. 22. *There was brought unto him one possessed with a Devil, blind and dumb, and he healed him, insomuch, (to wit, the Consequence of the ejecting the Devil was) that the blind and dumb both spake and saw*. The Pharisees v. 24. impute this casting out Devils to a Confederacy with *Beelzebub* the Prince of the Devils; our Saviour there argues, that then Satan should be divided against himself; namely *Beelzebub* the chief, against the *inferior Devils* that he cast out; who are of his Kingdom, and doing the Work of it; for there it follows, *That his Kingdom could not stand*, v. 26. These Things will be hardly applied to Diseases.

FOURTHLY and lastly, If the Evangelist should call Diseases Devils, and unclean Spirits, and speaking of casting out Devils in an History with all the Plainness and Expressness of Words, Phrase, and Circumstance, that such an Action could be described by, and yet mean nothing of it, what would this suggest, but that they falsely ascribed to Christ Wonders that he never did, and consequently, that they were Lyars and Deceivers, and vain Impostors? For clear it is, that whoever shall read those Passages in the Gospel, without a prepossess'd Opinion, will be led into this Belief by them, that our Saviour did really cast Devils out of Persons possess'd. And if there be really no such Thing as Possession by evil Spirits, but only Diseases by the ignorant and credulous People taken for such, then the History imposeth on us, and leads Men into a Persuasion of Things done by the Power of Christ that never were. And what

what Execution this will do, upon the Truth and Credit of of the whole History, is very easy to understand.

S E C T. VII.

That the Witch-Advocates cannot elude Scripture Testimony of Possession of evil Spirits, by saying, it speaks according to the received Opinions of Men.

I B U T the Scripture doth, we know, speak often according to the received Opinions of Men, though they are Errors, which it is not concerned to rectify, when they concern not *Morality* or *Religion*.

B U T first, The Doctrine of *Spirits* and *Devils* was not the received Opinion of all the *Jews*: The *Sadducees*, a considerable Sect, were of another Mind. So that the Stories of ejecting such must look to them, as Impostors; and the Scriptures were not only for the *Jews*, and for that particular Time alone, but for all Places, and all Ages. Most of which have no such Use of calling *Diseases Devils*, and, among them, the History must either convey a false Opinion, or lose the Reputation of its Truth.

S E C O N D L Y, Though the Scripture doth not vary from the common Forms of Speech, where they are grounded upon harmless and lesser Mistakes, yet when such are great and dangerous, prejudicial to the Glory of God, and Interest of Religion, it is then much concerned to reform and rectify such Errors: And, according to the Belief of the *Witch-Advocates*, the Doctrine of *Possessions* is highly such, for it leads to the Opinion of *Witchcraft*, which they make such a dismal and tragical Error, Blasphemy, an abominably idolatrous, yea an atheistical Doctrine, the grand Apostasy, the greatest that ever was or can be, that which cuts off Christ's Head, and un-gods him, renounceth Christ and God, and owns the Devil, and makes him equal to them, &c. As the *Author* of the *Grand Apostasy* raves.

A N D Mr. *Webster* saith little less of this Opinion in his Preface, viz. That it tends to advance Superstition and Popery, is derogatory to the Wisdom, Justice, and Providence of the Almighty, tending to cry up the Power of the Kingdom of Darkness, to question the Verity of the principal Articles of the Christian Faith, concerning the Resurrection

Refurrection of Christ, and generally tends to the Obstruction of Godliness and Piety.

AND Mr. *Wagstaffe* loads it with as dreadful Imputations in his Preface; as, that it doth necessarily infer Plurality of Gods, by attributing *Omnipotent* Effects to more than one, and that it supposeth many *Omnipotents*, and many *Omniscients*. If any thing of this be so, certainly our Saviour's inspired Historians would not have connived at, much less would they have spoken in the Phrase, that supposeth and encourageth a common Error; that leads to such an horrid Opinion.

S E C T. VIII.

An Answer to an Objection, from Christ's not mentioning his casting out Devils to John's Disciples, amongst other Miracles.

BUT saith the *Author* of the *Grand Apostasy*, p. 24. our Saviour himself, in his Answer to the Disciples of *John the Baptist*, *Luke* vii. doth not pretend to the casting out *Devils*, but only the Cure of *Diseases*, and raising the *Dead*. To which I say, First, We may not argue negatively from Scripture in such Matters, and certainly we ought not to argue from Silence in one Place, against plain Affirmations in many.

SECONDLY, Our Saviour answers, in reference to the Things he was then doing; when the Disciples of *John* came to him, *v. 21. And in that same Hour, he cured many of their Infirmities and Plagues*. Evil Spirits, it must be confessed, are also mentioned. Some of those Diseases; 'tis like, were occasioned by evil Spirits, as *Mat. xii. 22.* the Blindness and Dumbness of the *possessed Person* there was. And then the *Ejection* of the *evil Spirit* is implied, when the *Disease* is said to be *cured*.

THIRDLY, The Business of *John's* Disciples was to enquire, whether he was the *Messiah*, and it was fit our Saviour, in his Answer, should give such Proofs of his being so, as were plain and palpable. *Go your way, saith he, and tell John what Things you have seen and heard,* *Luke* vii. 22. They had heard him preach the Gospel, it is like, and had seen him cure Diseases. These Things were plain and sensible, and could admit of no Dispute or Doubt. But, whether the Distempers Christ then healed were inflicted by evil Spirits, and whether those were cast out in the Cure, did not plainly appear at that Time. Our Saviour therefore did not bid them mention that Instance

Instance to their Master *John*, because they could not testify it on their own Knowledge, as they could the Things themselves saw and heard.

S E C T. IX.

An Answer to two more Objections; the one, that St. John mentions no casting out Devils in his Gospel; the other, that to have a Devil, and to be mad, are Synonyma's.

BUT the passionate Witch-Advocate goes on. St. *John* the Evangelist, who especially sets himself upon the Proof of the Godhead of Christ; hints nothing of his ejecting Devils. Which one would think should be no Proof, since the other Three do; and St. *John* chiefly supplied what they omitted. And since this Evangelist so particularly sets himself upon the Proof of Christ's Divinity, he mentions no Miracles, which were the Proof, but such as were sensible and indisputable. And our Author himself, after p. 41. saith, That the Cure of *Diseases* was more for Christ's Honour, and the Proof of his Godhead, *than the casting out Devils* could have been: For possibly, saith he, in that there might have been some probable Grounds of the *Pharisees* Blasphemy, that he cast out Devils by *Beelzebub*.

So that he *answers* and *contradicts* himself at once; for p. 34. he saith: It had been a great Oversight in St. *John* to neglect such an Argument; if such a Thing had ever been; this would have proved him to have been God indeed, and his Power paramount above all Principalities and Powers, &c. p. 35. And yet now, curing *Diseases* proves it better, and the casting out Devils will scarce do it at all, since it might, adds he, be in some Sort credible, that he did it by Favour, Connivance, Compliance, Complotment, which is upon the Borders of the highest Blasphemy.

AGAIN it is alledged by this Writer; that to *have a Devil*, and to be *mad*, seem to be Synonyma's in the Scripture p. 35. I answer, *Possession* begat a certain *unreason*, and *Madness*; and therefore, when any were extravagant, the *Jews* said in common Speech, that *they had a Devil*, as we do, *The Devil is in you*, that is, you act unreasonably

reasonably and madly: But as we do not mean by this *Metaphorical Possession* to exclude the Belief of a *real*, so neither did they. Yea, the very Phrase, *both a Devil*, or the Devil is in him, applied to those that act furiously and unadvisedly, doth imply that there is such a *real* Thing as *diabolical Possession*, to which Madness and extreme Folly are resembled.

SEE then how the Patrons of Witches argue, The Jews sometimes used the *having a Devil* Metaphorically; therefore there are no other *Possessions*, or therefore all those Passages of Scripture, in which they are literally and plainly related, intend no other. Indeed, if we argue from meer *Words* and *Expressions* of having Devils, and casting out Devils, there would be somewhat of more Colour in our Adversaries Reasoning. But since we infer chiefly from plain Circumstances of History and Fact, there is no Force at all in it.

S E C T. X.

The Ignorance of the Author of The Grand Apostasy, in his interpreting the Word Δαιμόνιον.

BUT what doth this Writer mean, when he tells us Δαιμόνιον can scarce signify any Thing else properly, but an unusual Affliction from God, such as *Madness*; when all Men and Boys know that Substantively it is the same with Δαίμων *Demon*, taken already in Scripture in an ill Sense for an impure Spirit. Adjectively it signifies sometimes *Divinum quid*, but so it is not understood in the Places we dispute about, *Luk. iv. 35. When the Devil had thrown him, the possessed Man, in the midst, he came out of him,* the word is το Δαιμόνιον. The same v. 32. is called πνεῦμα ἁκαθάρτου. By which and the latter Circumstances of the History, it plainly appears that το Δαιμόνιον is to be understood *Substantively* for a *Person*, viz. an *evil Spirit*. So in the Story of the Devils entring into the Herd of Swine, *Luk. viii. 33. the Word we translate Devils is τὰ δαιμόνια*, called v. 29. πνεύματα ἁκαθάρτων, and the same, *Matth. viii. 29. Δαίμονες*. Besides the Force of which Words, I have shewn that the Story also determines them to a *substantive and personal* Meaning.

BUT the Author saith, That Δαιμόνιον can hardly with Propriety

Propriety signifie any Thing else but an *extraordinary Affliction from God*, because of its Derivation from *δαίμων*, p. 37. One would wonder at the Confidence of these Men, especially in their pretended Criticisms, by which they would impose what Sense upon Words they please. *Δαίμων* it is notoriously known signifies *Dæmon*, taken often in the ill Sense, and so particularly in the Place newly mentioned, deriving from *δαίω* *scio*, which degenerates here, as in *Saga*, *Witch*, *Wizzard* and the like, and what then should this Author by this mean.

S E C T. XI.

Whether there were no Feats performed by the Demoniacks in the Gospels, but Mad-men might perform.

IT is further objected by this Writer, that there are no Feats recorded of those supposed *Demoniacks*, but what *Mad-men* could perform, and often do. In which he considered not the Spirits in the *Possess'd*, in the Country of the *Gergasens*, *Matth.* viii 29. *St. Mark* and *St. Luke* write *Gadarens*, the Countries lie near together. *Josephus* reckons *Gadara* among the *Græcian* Cities which *Pompey* took from the *Jews*, and according to him the People were mostly *Syrians*.

I N this Country where our Saviour had not been before, nor after, that we read, two possess'd with Devils who had lived among the Tombs, out of the Conversation of Mankind, met him, and presently cried out; *What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God, art thou come to torment us before the time.* Was there nothing now beyond the Rate of ordinary Mad-men in this? How did they, who lived in such a dismal Solitude among the Tombs, in a Place where no Man pass'd, come to know this was Jesus, who never had been thereabout before, as far as we can hear? Or how came those Mad-men to know and utter such a great Truth, which our Saviour did not presently publish, *that he was the Son of God*? Did any come near to whisper this in their Ear? Or was this a raving Fancy only? *St. Mark* writes (who speaks but of a single *Demoniack*) that *when he saw Jesus afar off, he came and worshipp'd him*: He knew him presently and understood his true Condition, before most of the *Jews* about him, and even some of his own Disciples did. Could

a meer Mad-man have done so? But, further, they expected Torment, and from him, in the Time to come, though they looked not for it so soon. Art thou come to torment us before the Time? How applicable is this to the Condition of evil Spirits and their Expectations?

WE have a like Acknowledgment of our Saviour from another unclean Spirit, *Mark i. 24. I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God.* And our Saviour in what he saith, in Answer, plainly implies, it was the evil Spirit, not the Mad-man that spake, or, at least, caused the Confession. *Hold thy peace and come out of him, v. 25.* And that the Demoniacks did Things, beyond the Force of meer Mad-men, is further sufficiently declared in the History, *Mark vi. 19. No Man could bind him, no not with Chains; because he had been often bound with Fetters and Chains, and the Chains had been pluckt in sunder by him.* I would fain know, whether this be not beyond the Force of meer natural Madness?

N. B. *Hitherto, the Paper and Hand were the same, and so far of the Copy transcribed. Afterward the Hand alters, and is Mr. Glanvill's own Hand, but with an Hiatus of above half a Sheet of unwrit Paper between, though the Number of the Pages is continued. Something there was to intervene, to make a more full Connection; but, yet, what follows is on the same Subject, and produced to prove out of Scripture the Negotiation of Evil Spirits with their Clients.*

S E C T. XII.

Farther Proof of the Negotiation of Evil Spirits, with their Clients, from the History of the Magicians of Egypt; Mr. Wagstaffe, Mr. Webster, and the Author of The Doctrine of Devils, their Evasions proposed and answered.

IN the General, they all say the same Thing; viz. That the Magicians were Jugglers, who, by their Tricks and Legerdemain, imposed upon Pharaoh and the Egyptians. Mr. Wagstaffe is so modest, as not to describe the Manner of the Performance. But Mr. Webster thus; *The Magicians holding a Rod in their Hands, and seeming to throw it down upon the Ground, how soon might they throw down an Artificial Serpent in its stead, and immediately and unperceivably make Conveyance of the Rod, p. 154.* This is his Feat: And for the changing Water into Blood, and the producing of Frogs, he saith, they were so easie to be done after the same Manner, that they need not any particular Explication, p. 155. This is the main Answer, after a great deal of Impertinence, and Mr. Webster hath done his Business.

BUT the Author of *The Doctrine of Devils* hath devised a more particular Way for this Juggle. 'Tis probable, he saith, that these Men having the Art or Knack of Making, Graving, or Carving the Pictures of Men, Beasts, Serpents, Reptiles, &c. had the Feat also of Colouring, Painting, Fucussing of them also, and so might easily, especially in the Dark, or by the Juggling Feats, as the Text intimates, make a Rod look like a Serpent, &c. p. 114. But, besides these Knavish Painters, the Man hath found other Jugglers to help on the Deceit; Subtle and politick Orators, who, with fallacious Arguments, cunning Pretences, and plausible Rhetorick, could so disguise Truth, and flourish upon Knavery and Falshood, that Falshood should seem Truth, and Truth Falshood, p. 115.

WHATEVER the Magicians of Pharaoh were, any one, that considers these Answers, would take the Framers of them for Colourers, Changers, Perverters of the Face of Things, as this Author speaks, cunning Orators, Jugglers, Hocus-Pocus, Hiccius-Doceius, whip! the Serpents, Blood

and Frogs are gone. But, let us look a little nearer to the Business, and to these subtle Men, Witches of Orators, and examine what they tell us in the *Light of the Text*, and impartial *Reason*.

THE Text saith, *Aaron cast down his Rod before Pharaoh, and before his Servants, and it became a Serpent, v. 10. and v. 11, 12. The Magicians of Egypt, they also did in like Manner with their Enchantments. For they cast down every Man his Rod, and they became Serpents, but Aaron's Rod swallowed up their Rods.* Now, say the Witch-Advocates, the *Magicians* were *Jugglers*; they did not in like Manner, they did not cast down their Rods, but made Conveyance of them, they were not *Serpents*, but *Pictures*. Which are plain Contradictions to the Text, arbitrary Figments, that have no Ground. And if Men may feign what they will, and put what borrowed Sense they please upon plain Relations of Fact, all History will be a Nose of Wax, and be easily shaped, as the Interpreter has a Mind to have it.

SECONDLY, If this were so, and the Serpents were but Artificial Pictures; 'tis strange, that neither *Pharaoh*, nor his Servants, should perceive the Difference between the *Carved* and *Painted* Serpents and the *real* Ones; except they suppose also, that *Pharaoh* contrived the Business in a dark Room on Purpose, as the Author of *The Doctrine of Devils* seems to intimate. And 'tis stranger yet, that neither *Moses*, nor *Aaron*, that were concerned to detect the Imposture that was so gross and thick, should not discern it; or, if they did, 'tis as strange, that they should keep the Jugglers Counsel, and say nothing of it.

THIRDLY, *Aaron's* Serpents are said to have swallowed up those of the Magicians. What, did they swallow the Wires and Pictures? It seems they were very artificially done indeed, that the true Serpents mistook them for real Ones, as the Birds once did the Painted Grapes. But it would be more wonderful yet, if all were but the *Oratory* of the *Magicians*, for then the Serpents are their Words and Rhetorick.

FOURTHLY, *Moses and Aaron turned the Rivers into Blood, v. 20. and the Magicians of Egypt did so with their Enchantments, v. 22. They caused Frogs to come up, and to cover the Land, Ch. viii. v. 6. and the Magicians did so, and brought up Frogs on the Land of Egypt, v. 7.* Now, how did the Jugglers do this, with Painting and Fucussing; or how,

how, by Legerdemain and Slight of Hand were the Waters made Blood, and the Frogs brought up out of the Rivers on the Land? To turn a little Water into the Appearance of Blood was not the Thing, that was like to what *Moses* and *Aaron* did, and to shew an Artificial Frog, Two or Three, was not bringing up of Frogs on the Land of *Ægypt*, which implies Multitudes that covered the Ground. So that the *Hecus-Pocus* Tricks, and Juggling and Painting, will not colour this Part of the Story. And I should wonder at Mr. *Webster*, if he did not afford so many Occasions of wondring at him, when he passed this so slightly over, saying, p. 15. 5. *As to the changing Water into Blood, and the producing of Frogs, they were so easie to be done after the same Manner, viz. by Wires and Juggling, that they need not any particular Explication, for, by this, the Manner of their Performance may most easily be understood.* How shall one deal with these Men, and what will not their Confidence affirm?

FIFTHLY, 'Tis very strange also, how those *Jugglers* should know what Signs *Moses* and *Aaron* would shew, and accordingly furnished themselves with counterfeit Serpents, Blood and Frogs, against the Time; or had they those always in their Pockets? If not, it was great Luck for them that *Moses* and *Aaron* should shew those very Miracles first, that they were provided to imitate.

SIXTHLY and Lastly. If the *Magicians* did all this by Tricks and Juggling, may not one fear what Opinion these Men have of the same Things done by *Moses* and *Aaron*? These indeed out-did the others in divers following Instances, but may not they say, that That was by their having more Cunning and Dexterity in the Art of Juggling? If they or their Profelytes have a Mind to say thus, they may by their Principles, which will serve them to elude the History, in reference to *Moses* and *Aaron*, as well as it doth, in relation to the *Magicians*. They may with as much Modesty turn all into Allegory and Metaphor.

I THINK by all this it appears, that this Shift of the Witch-Advocates is very vain, and, that what the *Magicians* did was not mere *Juggling*, much less only *Politick Oratory* and *Rhetorick*. As if those *Magicians*, by their Eloquence, could persuade *Pharaoh* and his Servants against their Senses, as these Patrons of Witches endeavour to do by us, they being the greatest Witches in their own Sense that are extant, and some of them are belied, if they are not so in other Senses.

S E C T. XIII.

That what the Magicians of Egypt did perform, was, at least, by an Implicit Confederacy with evil Spirits.

WELL! If there be any Truth in the History, the *Magicians* were not only *Couzeners* and *Hocus-Pecus* Men; there was something done that was extraordinary beyond Man's Art and Contrivance, or the Effects of ordinary Nature. And therefore must have either *God*, or some *Spirit* or *Dæmon*, one or more, for the Author. The former no one saith; the Hand of God in this was only permissive. Therefore it is plain the *Magicians* did this by Spirits, Creatures of the *Invisible World*. The Text saith, by their *Enchantments*, *per arcana*, the vulgar *Latin* reads. Which because it is a general Word, Mr. *Wagstaffe* takes hold of it, and determines it to secret and sly Tricks, those of Legerdemain and Couzenage, whenas it is as applicable to any Kind of *Secret* (and so to the Diabolical Art and Confederacy) as to his Sense. And that it is so to be understood here, is plain from the Matter of the History. By those *arcana* (others read, *incantationes*, *veneficia*) they did those strange Things, *viz.* by secret Confederacy with Spirits, they obliged them to perform the Wonders.

BUT what did the Spirits do, Were the Serpents Blood and Frogs *real* or *apparent* only? I am not obliged to say, who is of one Opinion, and who of another in this, it matters not. The Reality of the Performances is most easie, and most suitable to the sacred Story, and there is no Difficulty in conceiving, that Spirits might suddenly convey Serpents, with which *Ægypt* abounded, into the Place of the Rods, which they might unperceivably snatch away, after they were thrown down; this they could do, though the *Magicians* of themselves could not. And they might be provided for the Performances, by knowing the Command God had given *Moses* and *Aaron*, concerning the Things he would have them do; which the *Magicians* could not know, at least but by them.

And for the Blood and the Frogs, they might by Infusion, or a thousand Ways that we cannot tell, make the Water to all Appearance bloody, or perhaps really transmute some
(we

(we know not the Extent of their Powers.) And to bring up the Frogs, from the Lakes and the Rivers, was no hard Thing for them to effect, though impossible for the *Magicians* to do by Tricks of Juggling. We see the Sense of the History is plain, and easie in our Way, but forced, harsh, contradictory, and most absurd in the Interpretations of the *Hag-Advocates*.

To make the Inference, from these *Magicians* to my Point, yet more plain and demonstrative, I shall further take Notice, that if we do not suppose a Confederacy, and formal Compact, between them and the Spirits they act by, it must, at least, be granted that those *Magicians* had a Way to oblige them to act, either by *Words*, or *Ceremonies*, which they have bound themselves to attend, in order to further Familiarity with the Persons that so employ them, and at last to *explicit* Compacts: And even this is sufficient for what I would infer.

I have thus dispatch'd a great Argument briefly, and yet I hope fully; Mr. *Webster* is after his Manner very voluminous about it. But all he hath said in five or six Leaves in Folio, to the Purpose, is in those few Lines I have recited. All the rest is senseless, rambling Impertinence, amusing his Readers with *Actives*, and *Passives*, *Macassaphims*, *Hartummims*, *Talismans*, wonderful Cures, and the Vertues of *Plants*, telling Stories, and citing Scraps from this Man, and from that; all which serve only for Ostentation, and the Deception of the Injudicious, but signifie nothing to any Purpose of Reasoning.

S E C T. XIV.

The other grand Instance of Confederacy with evil Spirits in the Witch of Endor, whom Saul consulted. A brief and plain Narration of the Story.

I COME to another grand Instance, viz. that of the Witch of *Endor*. The Story of her is related, 1 *Sam.* xxviii. and is briefly thus: *Samuel* was dead v. 3. and the *Philistines* gathered themselves against *Saul*, and pitch'd in *Giiboa*, v. 4. *Saul* on this was much afraid, v. 5. and enquired of the Lord, but had no Answer from him, v. 6. Upon this he bid his Servants find him out a Woman that

that had a familiar Spirit, that he might enquire of her. They told him of one at *Endor*, v. 7. He disguised himself, and with two Men by Night went to her, desired her to divine unto him by her *familiar Spirit*, and to bring up him whom he should name, v. 8. The Woman first excused herself, minding him, how dangerous such a Business might be to her, since *Saul* had cut off those that had *familiar Spirits*, and the *Wizzards* out of the Land. So that she was afraid that this Proposition of his was a Snare for her Life, v. 9. But *Saul* assured her by swearing, that no Harm should come to her for this Thing, v. 10.

SHE then ask'd him whom she should bring up, and he said, bring me up *Samuel*, v. 11. *Samuel* accordingly begins to appear, and when the Woman saw him, she cried with a loud Voice, being much surprized, it seems, to see *Samuel* in good earnest, whom she probably expected not, but some Familiar in his Likeness. By this she knew *Saul*, v. 12. He heartens her again, and asks, whom she saw? She answers, she saw *Gods* ascending out of the Earth, an usual *Hebraism*, the Plural for the Singular Number, *Gods*, to wit, a *Spirit*, v. 13. *Saul* asks, what Form he was of, she answered, *an old Man cometh up, and he is covered with a Mantle*. Then *Saul* perceived it was *Samuel*, and he bowed himself to the Ground, v. 14.

SAMUEL ask'd, why he had disquieted him to bring him up? He declares the Distress he was in, and his Desire to know what he was to do, v. 15. *Samuel* reproves him, and declares his Fate, viz. That the Lord had rent the Kingdom from him, and given it to *David*, v. 17. That the *Israelites* should be delivered into the Hands of the *Philistines*, and that *Saul* and his Sons should To-morrow be with him, viz. in the State of the Dead, as eventually it was, v. 19. This is the History, and one would think it speaks very plainly, but nothing is plain to Prejudice. The Patrons of *Witches* labour hard to avoid this Evidence, and I shall propose and consider their Shifts and Sights of answering.

S E C T. XV.

The Evasion of Mr. Reginald Scot, concerning the Witch's Closet proposed and confuted.

MR. *Reginald Scot*, the Father of the modern Witch-Advocates, orders the Matter thus. When *Saul*, saith he, had told her, that he would have *Samuel* brought up to him, she departed from his Presence into her Closet, where doubtless she had her Familiar, to wit, some lewd crafty Priest, and made *Saul* stand at the Door like a Fool, (as it were with his Finger in a Hole) to hear the couzening Answers, but not to see the couzening Handling thereof, and the Counterfeiting of the Matter. And so goeth she to Work, using ordinary Words of Conjuraton, &c. so belike, after many such Words spoken, she saith to herself; Lo! now the Matter is brought to pass: I see wonderful Things: So as *Saul*, hearing these Words, longed to know all, and ask'd her, what she saw; whereby you know, that *Saul* saw nothing, but stood without like a Mome, whilst she played her Part in her Closet, as may most evidently appear by the 21st Verse of the Chapter, where it is said, *Then the Woman came out to Saul &c.* Scot. p. 108.

Now this is not interpreting a Story, but making one; for we read nothing of her Closet, or her going from *Saul* into it, nothing of the crafty Priest she had there, or of *Saul's* standing at the Door like a Fool, like a drowned Puppy, as Mr. *Webster* has it, (very respectful Language for a Prince in Distress) nothing of the Words of Conjuraton, or of the Woman's Talk to her self, but all this is Whimsy and Fiction.

AND according to this Way of interpreting, a Man may make what he will of all the Histories of the Bible, yea in the World. If one may supply, and put in what he pleaseth, any Thing may be made any Thing.

BUT Mr. *Scot* saith, it evidently appears, that *Saul* saw nothing but stayed without like a Mome, whilst she played her Part in her Closet. It evidently appears by the 21st Verse of this Chapter, where 'tis said, *Then the Woman came out unto Saul.* Is it not evident from hence, that she had a Closet, how else should she come out? But the
Mischief

Mischief of it is, there is nothing of coming out in the Text, or any Version of it: Our Translation is *And the Woman came unto Saul*, The vulgar *Latin*, *Ingressa est*, she came in, which implies that she went out of *Doors*, rather than into her Closet. The *Septuagint* read εἰσῆλθεν ἡ γυνή, being the same Sense with the vulgar *Latin*. The *Chaldee Paraphrase* simply, *she came*, so the *Syriack* and *Arabiick*; but we find nothing of coming out any where, but in the *Discoverer*; so that here is a Text made two, as well as many a groundless Comment.

BUT whether she only came to *Saul*, or in or out to him, it matters not so much, for it implies only, that she withdrew, while *Saul* communed with *Samuel*, out of Respect, and after the Communication she returned, and found the King in great Disorder, and what is this to a Closet?

S E C T. XVI.

Two of Mr. Webster's Arguments, for the Witch's Closet, proposed and answered.

BUT Mr. Webster pursues the Business in the Behalf of the *Discoverer*; First, if they were in the same Room, and *Samuel* a visible Object, how comes it to pass, that *Saul* saw him not? Mr. *Glanvill*, saith he, *must pump to find it out*; p. 169. But doth not Mr. Webster know, that it is usual in *Apparitions*, (and he owns there are such) for the Spirit to appear to one, when it is not visible to another, though in the same Room, and every Ways capable of seeing? In the famous Story of *Walker* and *Sharp*, recited by him, p. 299, 300. which he confesseth to be of undoubted Verity, he saith, It was reported, that the *Apparition* did appear in Court to the Judge, or Foreman of the Jury, (and I have from other Hands very credible Attestations that it was so) but the rest saw nothing. Many other well attested Relations of this Kind speak of the like, and there are innumerable Stories of People that have their Second Sight, as they call it, to wit, a Faculty of seeing Spectres, when others cannot discern them. In which there is nothing either impossible, or unlikely: And why then should there be Need of so much *pumping*, to answer this Objection?

SAMUEL it seems, appeared to the Woman a little before *Saul* saw him, shewing himself so, it may be, to prepare *Saul* for the terrible Sight by Degrees, lest the Suddenness of it might have affrighted him into an Incapacity of hearing what he had to say to him: Or it may be, the Body of the Woman, or some other Thing in the Room, might interpose between *Saul* and the first Appearance of *Samuel*, or he might be at an unfit Distance, or out of due Light to see presently, as she did; so that there is no Need of supposing them to be in two Rooms on this Account.

SECONDLY, He argues farther, for the Closet or another Room: The Woman cried out with a loud Voice, when she saw *Samuel*: What Need of that, saith he, if they were in one Room; might not an ordinary Tone make him to have heard her? 'Tis like it might, but that was not the Cause of her Crying out, but her Surprise to see *Samuel*, (if it were the real *Samuel*) when she expected only her *Familiar*, appearing in some Resemblance of him; and 'tis like there were Circumstances in this *Apparition*, which she had never seen before, that might on the sudden affright and amaze her. And if it were *Samuel* indeed, which is very probable, the Sight of him assured her, that the Enquirer was *Saul*; for though she might not conclude it presently, from his requiring her to raise *Samuel*, yet when he really and unexpectedly appeared, it was plain that he was come upon some great Errand, and with whom could he probably have such Business as with *Saul*? So that she seeing him, the Importance of his Appearance, and the Relation he had to *Saul*, brought the King presently to her Mind, and with him her Fears; and that this was one Cause of her Crying out is plainly intimated in the next Words; *And the Woman spake to Saul, saying, Why hast thou deceived me, for thou art Saul, v. 12.* And that she was affrighted at that Knowledge, is implied in *Saul's* assuring her again against her Fears, in his immediate Answer. *And the King said unto her, be not afraid, v. 13.*

BESIDES this, there is another Thing that may be collected from the Text, which might occasion her Astonishment and Crying out; for as soon as *Saul* had said, *Bring me up Samuel, v. 11.* it immediately follows, *v. 12. And when the Woman saw Samuel, she cried with a loud Voice.* It seems, he appeared, before she had performed her usual Conjurati-
ons

ons (so little Ground is there for what Mr. Scot talks of her Words of Conjuraton, and those she spake to herself) and upon that she was surprized and affrighted.

S E C T. XVII.

Other Arguments of Mr. Webster, for a Room distinct from that Saul was in, proposed and answered.

MR. Webster's Third Argument, to prove a Closet, is, that it had been incongruous for *Saul* to have ask'd, what sawest thou? if they had been in one Room: But what is the Incongruity, or what the Wonder, if one in his Condition should speak incongruously?

HIS Fourth and Fifth Arguments are to prove, that *Saul* had yet seen nothing, when he ask'd the Woman upon her Out-cry, what she had seen? They prove, that she saw the *Apparition* first, which is granted; but her being in another Room cannot thence be inferred, as I have shewn, though that be the Thing he should make out, or all is impertinent.

THE Sixth Argument is, That after all, *Samuel* was but coming up. *An old Man cometh up*, which proves nothing for Mr. Webster, but against him; for now, she shews him to *Saul*; she saw the first Beginning of his Appearing, which *Saul* did not. When he was risen higher out of the Earth, she shews him to the King, who, 'tis said, *perceived* then it was *Samuel*, and bowed himself, v. 14. which is very easie and congruous, applied to one and the same Room. And what then makes Mr. Webster insult in the Conclusion of this Argument in these Words: *Now let Mr. Glanvill consider, and answer, whether it be not only intimated, but clearly holden forth in the Text, that either they were in two Rooms, or that nothing visible did appear before Saul, p. 171.* His seeing nothing, at first, I grant; but the two Rooms there is no Ground for, and he doth not prove it. Whether he did not see *Samuel* after, I shall not now enquire. Hitherto I have nothing to do, but with the Conceit of the Closet, or the other Room which Mr. Scot made for the Woman, and Mr. Webster endeavours to uphold, with much good Will, but little Success.

S E C T. XVIII.

Convincing Arguments brought to prove, that Saul saw Samuel, which frustrates the Figment of two Rooms.

AFTER all, if he really saw the *Apparition*, the Figment of the two Rooms is gone, or, at least, signifies nothing to their Purpose; this the Text intimates plainly. She said, *An old Man cometh up, and he is covered with a Mantle*; and it follows, *And Saul perceived it that it was Samuel, and he stooped with his Face to the Ground, and bowed himself*, v. 14.

HE perceived it was Samuel, he perceived it, saith Mr. Webster, by the Description of the Woman. But she had only said, *An old Man cometh up, covered with a Mantle*: This is but a very general Description, why must that needs notify *Samuel* only? Could the Devil represent no other old Man in a Mantle, or could none of the Dead appear so, but *Samuel* only? By these Words alone, *Saul* could not certainly perceive, that it was him; but he perceived this so, that he could not but know and acknowledge it, as the *Hebrew* Word seems to imply. I say this Word [*perceived*] implies more than bare seeing. 'Tis that and somewhat else, *viz.* that he saw him so, as to be convinced, that it was he indeed; the Judgment was added to the Sense. So that Mr. Webster's Objection, that the Word [*saw*] it was *Samuel*, is of no Weight; he [*perceived*] implies, that he saw it so as to be assured. If the Saying of the Woman had been all, the Assurance had been none at all, and *Saul* could not have perceived or understood any Certainty of the Thing from it.

BUT Secondly, It appears yet farther, that his perceiving did imply seeing; for, *for he stooped with his Face to the Ground, and bowed himself*: Now what did *Saul* make this respectful Reverence to, if he saw nothing? Was it to *Samuel* in his Fancy? Mr. Webster, saith, *Surely, irrational Consequence, it could be nothing else*, p. 171. This is something an unusual Courtesy to bare Ideas and Imaginations. But Mr. Webster gives a Reason: *All that the Woman had done and said, being undeniable Lyes and Cheats, this also, in just Right and Reason, must be judged to be so also.* Which is assuming the Thing to be proved.

S E C T.

S E C T. XIX.

That it was a real Apparition, not a confederate Knave, as Mr. Webster fancies, which Saul saw, and did Obedience to.

BUT did she not turn out her *confederate Knave* to act the Part of *Samuel*? And was not this he to whom *Saul* bowed? This *Mr. Webster* offers as Part of his Answer. The Woman, *v. 14.* describes *Samuel* in the Form of an old Man covered with a Mantle; such a Shape she must have put the confederate Knave into. It may be, it was an old Fellow, or she made him look like old; but let that pass; but where got she the Mantle? A *Sacerdotal Habit* it was, according to *Josephus*. Had the Woman the Wardrobe of all Habits for all Purposes? Or was it some short Cloak of her own that she threw on him? We will suppose either that will serve *Mr. Webster's* Turn best. But how did the Fellow himself, or the old Quean for him, change his Visage into the Likeness of *Samuel*, or how alter his Voice, so as to make *Saul*, who well knew *Samuel*, to believe it was even he? These are hard Questions.

BUT if we should so far gratifie *Mr. Scot*, *Mr. Webster*, and the rest, as not to press with such untoward Queries; yet one cannot chuse but ask, how the *confederate Knave* came to foretel truly such contingent Things, as that the *Israelites* should be vanquished by the *Philistines*, and *Saul* and his Sons slain, on the Morrow, as *v. 19.* How could the Cheat, or the Woman in another Room, tell this? Why, saith *Mr. Wagstaffe*, he spake it at a Venture, and he, or the Witch, gave a shrewd Guess to the Sequel, saith *Mr. Scot*, but what Ground was there for Conjecture? and since there was none, the Confederate might as well have chose to have told *Saul*, that he and his Sons should live and be victorious; and this, if he were so cunning a Fellow, as these cunning Men make him, he would have done, for the Witch's Business, and his, was to get by their Practice, and the likelier Way to a good Reward had been to have prophesied grateful and pleasing Things to the troubled King; and, if the Prophefier knew nothing of the Event, he might as well have chosen the good as the evil Side, which as it had been for his Interest, it had been also for the better saving of the Credit
of

of his Predictions; for if he had foretold the King's good Success and Victory, the Woman and he, the *Confederate*, in consequence, had been sure of Reputation and Favour, and farther Rewards, if it happened so; but no Evil could have befallen them from the contrary success: For if *Saul* was killed, the Falshood of the Prediction would be buried with him, (for we read not that the two Servants were at this Communication, which in all likelihood was private) and no other Evil like to ensue.

So that if it were a *confederate Knave*, as the Witch-Advocates have contrived, that made the Answers, he was not so cunning as Mr. *Scot*, Mr. *Webster*, and the rest pretend, but indeed a very *silly Fugger*. He speaks very severe and disobliging things, and such as were not like to redound to his advantage, and indeed such things they were, as do not at all look as if they proceeded from a confederate Couzener. They have that Gravity, Majesty, Religion, and Vertue in them, that became the true *Samuel*, and are very unlike the Words of a vicious cheating Knave.

To which may be added, that this Woman, though otherwise an ill one, seems to have been of a kind and benign Nature, by the courteous Entertainment she gave the afflicted Prince, and *Josephus* extolls her much for her good Nature: So that it is very improbable, that she would by herself or her Confederate, lay such an heavy load of Trouble and Desparation upon the King, that was in such Distress before. I think, all these things put together, are abundantly sufficient to disprove, and shame the ungrounded Fancy of the Witch-Advocates, that all was done by a Confederate. And consequently it was a real *Apparition* that *Saul* saw, and did civil Obeysance to.

S E C T. XX.

That it was not the Witch herself who acted all, as Scot and Webster for another shift would suppose, putting herself into a Trance, and deluding Saul by Ventriloquy.

BUT was it not the Witch herself that acted all? Mr. Scot saith, that if the Exposition of the *Confederate* like us not, he can easily frame himself to the Opinion, That this *Pythonefs* being in a *Ventriloque*, that is, speaking as it were from the bottom of her Belly, did cast herself into a Trance, and so abused *Saul*, answering to *Saul* in *Samuel's* Name, in her counterfeit hollow Voice, p. 111. To the same purpose Mr. Webster also supposeth, *That what she did or pretended to do, was only by Ventriloquy, or casting herself into a feigned Trance, lay groveling on the Earth, with her face downwards, and so changing her Voice, did Mutter and Murmur, and Peep, and Chirp like a Bird coming forth of the shell, or that she spake in some hollow Cave or Vault, through some Pipe, or in a Bottle, and so amused and deceived poor timorous and despairing Saul, p. 165, 166.*

WHAT stuff is this, and how shall one deal with such Men, as set their Wits upon the rack to invent Evasions, and are ready to assert any Nonsense or Absurdity, to pervert the Sense of a plain and simple History? What I have already spoke against the Dream of a *Confederate*, viz. *Saul's* perceiving it was *Samuel*, his bowing himself upon it; his taking the Voice for the prophet's, the suitableness and gravity of the Words, and the contrivance of the Prediction, and the Truth of it, are as strong against this *Whim*, as against the other idle *Fancy*, and in some particular of more force, as will appear to any one that considers the Matter duly.

FOR *Ventriloquy*, or speaking from the bottom of the Belly, 'tis a thing I think as strange and difficult to be conceived, as a thing in Witchcraft, nor can it, I believe, be performed in any distinctness of articulate sounds, without such assistance of the Spirits, that spoke out of the *Dæmoniacks*. I would fain have any of the Witch-Advocates shew how it is naturally possible: So that this that they suppose,

suppose, will infer the thing they would avoid. It cannot certainly in any reason be thought, that the Woman could by a natural Knack, speak such a Discourse as is related from *Samuel*, much less that she could from her Belly imitate his Voice, so as to deceive one that knew him as *Saul* did.

As for Mr. *Webster's* *Peeping*, *Chirping*, and *Muttering*, they are nothing to the purpose, and his *hollow Cave*, *Pipe*, and *Vault*, are as arbitrary Figments as the *Closet*, and fall under the same Confutations that disprove the rest of the *Chimeras*.

S E C T. XXI.

That it was Samuel himself who appeared, not the Devil, nor a confederate Knave.

BUT the Witch-Advocates have another Argument to prove an Imposture in this Business. For say they, the Person denouncing the Fate of *Saul* could not be the true *Samuel*, nor the *Devil* in his likeness; therefore it must be either the *Woman* or some cheating *Confederate*. Which conclusion follows not, for it is possible it might be a good Spirit personating *Samuel*: These the Scripture assures us, are often employed in Errands and Ministeries here below, and on those occasions they cloath themselves in human Shape and Appearance. So that it is not absurd to think it might be thus here; but this I affirm not. Who actually it was hath been great matter of Debate among Interpreters, and considerable Authors have been on either side. My cause doth not require that I should positively determine who the appearing Person was, it might be one of them, though I cannot tell which.

I confess it seems to me most probable, that it was the true *Samuel*, for the Scripture calls the *Apparition* so Five times, that is, as often as he is mentioned. And when the Woman saw *Samuel*, v. 12. And *Saul* perceived that it was *Samuel*, v. 14. and *Samuel* said to *Saul*, v. 15. Then said *Samuel*, v. 16. Then *Saul* was sore afraid because of the words of *Samuel*, v. 20. Which Expressions are neither from *Saul* nor the Woman, but from that Spirit that Indited the holy Scriptures. And if after all

this, *Samuel* was a *Knave*, or the *Witch*, or the *Devil*, what assurance can we have in Interpreting of Scripture? I know that it speaks sometimes agreeably to the deceived Apprehensions of Men; but when it is so, there is something in the Context or Nature of the thing that leads us to make this Judgment. And if we rashly suppose whenever we have a Mind to it, that the Scripture speaks according to deceived Opinion; we may by this Rule make it say any thing. The plain Letter, and most obvious Sense is always to be followed, where there is no cogent Reason to the contrary, and I shall shew by and by, that there is none to decline it here.

ACCORDING to the obvious plain Sense, the Words are Interpreted, *Ecclesiastic. 46. And after his Death, (speaking of Samuel) he Prophefied, and shewed the king his end.* And the circumstances of the Story, which I have already considered, seem to me very plainly to determine the Sense this way. Thus doth the surprize of the Woman, who cried out with astonishment upon the sight of the Prophet, whom she was affrighted to see. Her knowing it was *Saul* by the *Apparition*, which she could not have done by the *Devil's* appearing in his likeness. The Expression that *Saul perceived* that it was *Samuel*, he did not only fancy or think so. The Divine and Majestick words he spake, so becoming the true *Samuel*, and so unlike the Words of an evil Spirit. And the Prediction of Events so contingent as the loss of the Battle, and the death of the King and his Sons.

S E C T. XXII.

The needlessness and impertinency of Mr. Webster's Confutation of Samuel's appearing with his Body out of the Grave.

NOW there are several Evasions, whereby some endeavour to shift off this evidence. But if we will deal plainly and sincerely, we must, I think, acknowledge the force of the Arguments, which I have briefly and nakedly proposed.

BUT all this Mr. *Webster* pretends to confute thus. It was not *Samuel's Body* with his Soul joined, nor his *Soul* that appeared in his wonted Shape and Habit, *p. 172, 173.*

THE first he proves by these Reasons. First, His Body had lain too long in the Grave, so that it must have been disfigured. Secondly, It must have stunk. Thirdly, There was no Taylor in the Grave to make him a Mantle. Fourthly, It must have been an Omnipotent Power to have done this. Fifthly, A Sylogism is brought to prove this contrary to the Scripture, which saith, *That those that die in the Lord, rest from their Labours.*

Now the Four first Arguments he may take again, we have no concern with them. For 'tis senseless to think, that the gross Body came out of the Grave; and if he means the resting of the *Terrestrial Body*, by the Fifth, he may take that back too. And indeed, as applyed to the Body without the Soul, the disturbing of it is Nonsense. Its corruption in the Grave is continual motion, and more disturbance than the raising it entirely would be, if it were any at all, but properly it is none, no more than is the taking of a Stone out of a Quarry. Therefore if there be any Argument in this, it falls under the next Query.

THE Sixth Argument is a Question, *viz.* Who joyned the Soul and Body again? Not the *Witch* nor the *Devil*. The Opinion is Erroneous, Impious, and Blasphemous. And for me, let him call it what he pleaseth; his strength is in hard Words, which here like the Stones thrown sometimes by Witchcraft light like Wool, and here far also from the Mark.

S E C T. XXIII.

That it was the Soul of Samuel which appeared without his Terrestrial Body, and that it is an indifferent Opinion, wherein Papists and Protestants are equally divided.

BUT there is a Second Opinion yet to be Confuted, *viz.* That it was *Samuel's* in his wonted Shape and Habit, p. 173. He must mean his *Soul* without the *Body*, or else 'tis the same again; and if he means without any Body, I am none of those that mean with him. It is most fully and plainly proved by those excellent Men, *Dr. Cudworth* and *Dr. More*, that Souls departed are embodied in Aerial or Ætherial Vehicles; and they have

largely shewn that this was the Doctrine of the greatest Philosophers, and most Ancient and Learned Fathers. And agreeable it is to the Holy Scripture and highest Reason and Philosophy, as I may have another occasion to shew. Now *Samuel* appeared here to *Saul* in this his more pure *Aerial* or *Ætherial* Body, which he could form into such an appearance and habit as he had in the *Terrestrial*.

AGAINST the Opinion of *Samuel's* Soul appearing, Mr. *Webster* urgeth cogent Arguments, as still he calleth his; they are all *manifest, cogent, irrefragable, unanswerable*, even then when they are scarce sense. He prefaceth to them, by an intimation, that the Doctrine is Popish maintain'd, he saith, it is by the Popish party. His hard words use to be his strongest Arguments. But this is only to raise *odium* and prejudice to the opinion. For there are *Papists* and *Protestants* on both sides of this Question. As also Rabbins and Fathers have divided upon it. Some of the last sort, and those perhaps of the greatest and most considerable having been for it, as R. *Eleazer*, R. *Saadias*. The Writers of the *Midrash*, *Josephus* also, *Origen*, *Augustine*, *Basil*, *Ambrose*, &c. as some others have been against it. So that, I suppose, a man may freely and without offence declare his Judgment, though it happen to be different from that of Mr. *Webster*.

S E C T. XXIV.

Three Arguments of Mr. Webster against the appearing of the Soul of Samuel proposed and answered.

WHERFORE to his Arguments, First he could not, saith he, come whether God would or no. Right! Secondly, He would not run on as Errand without God's consent. No doubt. Thirdly, that God did not command him, he saith, is most certain. Here I must stop. How doth that appear to be so certain? Why! they never were employed in Ministries here below, because never created for any such end or purpose, *p. 173*. They were never employed in Ministries here below! What thinks he of the Souls of *Moses* and *Elias*, at the transfiguration on the Mount? were not they then employ'd in a Ministry here below, or were they only Phantasms?

or glorified Bodies without their Souls? and how then did they talk and converse with our Lord? But these he will say were sent on an extraordinary occasion. Be it so, they are sometimes then employed in such, and so Mr. *Webster* must eat his words. And if blessed Souls are, or have been employed at any time, how is he so certain the real *Samuel* was not sent here;

Thus briefly to his bold Assertion. But he pretends a reason. *They were never created for this purpose.* If that were so, what then? The Stars were never made to fight against *Sisera*, nor any one. Nor the waters to drown the World. Nor the Ravens to feed Prophets or other Men. May not they therefore be used in those Services? Again, No *sensitive* Being was made primarily for another, but to enjoy itself, and to partake of the goodness of its Maker. May it not therefore minister to others? and doth not every Creature so? All things serve him. Thirdly, The Angels are Ministering Spirits, he saith, ordained to be such. Doth he think they were made for that purpose only to serve us? Fourthly, Reasonable human Creatures are for one another. *Non nobis solum, &c.* Souls are most proper to serve such not here only, but in the next World. They are ἰσχυροὶ like unto Angels, and they are as proper at least for the service, of Men. They have the same nature and affections. They feel our infirmities, and consider us more than abstract Spirits do. Which is the reason given why our Saviour took not upon him the nature of Angels, but of Men. Fifthly, Souls departed have Life and Sense and Motion, capacity of being employed, and no doubt inclination to it; and whither more properly may they be sent, than to those of their own nature, whom they affect, are allied to, and so lately came from? Sixthly, The Angels are not confined to their celestial habitation, but are sent often to this nether World, as Mr. *Webster* and the rest confess, and why then should we think that the Souls of the Just are so limited and restrained?

AND Lastly it is supposed both by Jews and Christians, that the Soul of the *Messias* appeared to the Patriarchs and was the Angel of the Covenant; and we know he was pleased to appear to St. *Stephen* at his Martyrdom, though then in Glory. And in the various Apparitions of Angels recorded in the Scripture, we have reason to

think that some were human Souls, called Angels from their Office.

So that on the whole, we see we have no cause to rely on Mr. *Webster's* certainty, that *Samuel's* Soul came not on a Divine Command.

S E C T. XXV.

Other Arguments of Mr. Webster against the appearing of the Soul of Samuel, proposed and answered.

BUT Mr. *Webster* goes on : Fourthly, saith he, Mr. *Glanvill* hath only affirmed, not proved it. Which is not so, I alledge the same reasons I have mentioned here in my *Philosophical Considerations about Witchcraft*, Sect. 16. And the frequent affirmations of the Sacred Text, were sufficient ground for the Assertion, though no other reasons were added to them.

He argues, Fifthly, Miracles are wrought to confirm truth, but this would have confirmed *Saul* and the Witch in their wicked ways, p. 174. I answer, Miracles are not always wrought to confirm truth, but sometimes to declare it. And these sort are often for that purpose. Such was this, to pronounce the final Sentence and Doom on *Saul*, as to the concerns of this World. And the Prophet's appearing so contrary to the Woman's expectation, and before she had performed her Spells, struck her into dread and amazement, and so she could draw no encouragement thence, to countenance her trade of Witchcraft.

SIXTHLY, He saith it is not credible, but that *Samuel* would have reproved the Sorcerers. But that was not his business, and it is like she being one of that vile and Diabolical profession, was forsaken of God and good Spirits, and given up to those evil ones that were her Agents and Familiars. Such derelictions we sometimes read of. And certainly if any course of sinning occasions and brings such a judgment (as some no doubt do) this of Witchcraft and Confederacy with evil Spirits, is one that most justly may.

SEVENTHLY, But God had refused to answer *Saul* by any living Prophet, and Eighthly, would not vouchsafe him his Spirit in the ordinary way, and therefore it is not pro-

probable he would do it by fending a Prophet from the Dead. Which arguings can only discover our ignorance in the Reasons of the Divine Counfels and Actions. But yet it may be faid, God had indeed withdrawn all comfortable and directive Communications from him, but this was of another fort, a farther instance of the Divine Difpleafure, and Declarative of the forfaken King's Doom. Which was no favour but indeed a judgment to which the Divine Juftice was probably farther provoked by this his fin of dealing with the Sorcerers.

BUT Ninthly, *Abraham* would not fend *Lazarus* upon the Rich Man's defire to his furviving Brethren. p. 175. Nor can any one think it follows that, becaufe one came from the dead to an extraordinary perfon, and upon an occafion that was fuch; that therefore Prophets, or other Souls fhall be fent from thence, ordinarily to warn thofe that have other fufficient means of conviction and amendment. The Tenth is to fill up tale. Where doth Mr. *Glanvill*, faith he, find it in Scripture, or Orthodoxal Divines, that ever any Bleffed Soul was fent on a divine Errand to any here below? Which he objected, and I answered before.

S E C T. XXVI.

That the Soul of Samuel might come of itfelf, as well as be fent by Divine Command, either Opinion, defenfible.

I HAVE briefly recited, and I hope cleared Mr. *Webfter's* Objections, which he runs out into great length and numerous impertinencies. And indeed his Arguments are often fuch confident Nothings, that it is really a fhame to go about to answer them. But I fhall never pafs by any thing of his ftrength.

BUT though I have defended the Opinion, that *Samuel's* Soul was fent on a Divine Errand to *Saul*, againft Mr. *Webfter's* contrary pretences; yet is there another thing fupposable, which is as probable, viz. That *Samuel* came without any direct command, being barely permitted, and that the earneft and importunate defire of *Saul* to have fome Communication with him in his diftrefs, invited and inclined him to it. Thus it might be, and there is no caufe to think, but that bleffed Souls have fometimes

sometimes such liberty allowed them; which of these it was, I shall not presume to determine, both are defensible, and either sufficient for my purpose.

S E C T. XXVII.

Several other Objections against the appearing of the Soul of Samuel answered.

BUT there are other Objections besides Mr. *Webster's*, against the Tenent that it was the Soul of *Samuel*; I shall not conceal any one that hath any force in it,

FIRST it is urged, That *Witches* and *Magicians* have no power over the Spirits of the Just, and therefore this *Pythonefs* could not raise *Samuel*. Nor do we say she did. He appear'd (as 'tis probable from the Text) before she had made her Conjurations. Which might be one reason of her crying out. He came either sent from God, or of his own inclination. The *Devil* nor *Witch* had nothing to do in it.

BUT Secondly, would God send *Samuel* at such a time, when he was seeking satisfaction from Enchantment? And why not as well that, as appoint the Prophet to meet the Messengers of *Ahaziah* when he sent to *Beelzebub*, *2 Kings* 1? That King sent to the Idol of *Ekron* to inquire his Fate, and God acquainted him with it by his Prophet *Elijah*. Thus also when *Balak* had required *Balaam* to curse the *Israelites*, God put a Prophecy into his Mouth, and made him bless them, *Num.* 22. &c.

THIRDLY the Woman said, she saw Gods arising, a company of evil Spirits (so some interpret) and what did *Samuel* among them? But I saw Gods is more probably rendered by others a God, a Divine Personage, the plural Number for the singular to express honour. And that it is so to be understood is signified plainly by the singular Relative that follows; *Of what form is he*, v. 14. Or if more be meant, why might they not be good *Genii* that accompanied *Samuel*, a great and Divine Personage, eminent no doubt in the other World as he was in this?

FOURTHLY, some argue from the Question of the Apparition, v. 15. *Why hast thou disquieted me?* *Samuel*, say they,

they, whether sent by God, or coming of his own accord, could not be disquieted by appearing. Nor was there any real disturbance in it, but the Spirit of the Prophet speaks our Language, who are apt to fancy the dead to rest in their Graves, and to be disturbed of their repose, when upon any occasion they appear among the living.

FIFTHLY, But he saith, that *Saul* and his Sons should be with him, viz. in *Thalamo justorum*, which some think, not unlikely, believing that *Saul* was reprobate only in Type. But more probably the meaning is, that he should be in the State of the dead in another World, as he the Prophet was.

SIXTHLY and Lastly, The Spectre said, that to *morrow* he should be with him, which was not true, for several days intervened before the Battle. But the word to *morrow* need not to be taken in strictness, but in a Latitude of interpretation for a short time. He was to dye in or upon the Fight, and the enemies were now ready for it, and so the event was to be within a very little while. The prediction of which, was a Prophecy of a thing very contingent, and shews that the Predictor was the real *Samuel*.

S E C T. XXVIII.

An Answer to this Objection, That if it was Samuel's Soul which appeared, it makes nothing to Witchcraft.

BUT if it were the real *Samuel*, will they say, this Story will then make nothing for the Opinion of Witchcraft. For *Samuel* was not raised by Enchantment, but came either of his own accord, or on a Divine Errand. To which Objection, I say,

FIRST, Here is at least proof of an Apparition of a Man after Death.

SECONDLY, *Saul's* going to this *Pythonefs* upon such an Inquiry, and she undertaking to bring the person up, whom he should name (at least the appearance of him) intimated v. 11. are good proof that this had been her practice, though at this time over ruled, and that she acted by an evil Spirit. For certainly when *Saul* intreats her to *Divine to him by her Familiar Spirit*, he did not mean that she should deceive, and delude him by a *Confedrate Knave*.

Knave. The senselessness of which Figment I have already sufficiently disproved. That the Woman was used to such practices, will appear fully when I come to prove Witchcraft from exprefs Texts. [*The exprefs Texts here meant, I suppose are such as these, Exod. 22. 18. 2Chron. 33. 6. Gal. 5. 20. Micah. 5. 12. Acts 13. 6, 8. and Chap. 8. 9. and more especially Deut. 18. 10. Where almost all the Names of Witches are enumerated, namely, of all those that are inveigled by Covenant with Evil Spirits, either explicitly, or by submitting to their Ceremonies, See Dr. H. M. his Postscript.*]

S E C T. XXIX.

Their Opinion, who hold that it was an Evil Spirit which appeared to Saul, may be true for aught Mr. Webster brings against it.

AS to the Opinion of divers Divines, that the appearing *Samuel* was indeed an Evil Spirit in his likeness, though I judge it not so probable as the other of the real *Samuel*, yet the interpretation is not absurd nor impossible. And because I do not absolutely determine either way, I shall defend it against Mr. *Webster's* contrary Arguments, which whether it be so or not so, prove nothing. He saith,

FIRST, That this begs two false suppositions, *p. 175.* as First, That the Devils are simply incorporeal Spirits. By which if he means *Incorporeal* in their Intrinsick Essential Constitution, such no doubt they are, as every Intellectual Being is. But if he mean by *simply Incorporeal*, disunited from all Matter and Body, so perhaps (and most likely) they are not. But neither the one, or the other of these, is supposed by the Opinion Mr. *Webster* impugns. The second false supposition is, That Devils can assume Bodies. That they can appear in divers Shapes and Figures, like human and other Bodies, we affirm, and it is plain from the Scripture, as to Angels, and I shall make the same good, in reference to other Spirits in due place. So that we may suppose it still; till Mr. *Webster* hath evinced the contrary, as he promiseth. How he performs I shall consider in due place.

HIS Second Argument is, That he is not of their Opinion, that the Devils move, and rove up and down in this Elementary World at pleasure. Which no one I know saith. They go to and fro, and compass the Earth, but still within the bounds of the Divine permission, the Laws of the Angelical World, and those of their own Kingdom; which prevent the Troubles and Disturbances in the World from them, which he saith would insue.

N.B. [Thus far runs the Proof of the Existence of Apparitions and Witchcraft, from Holy Scripture, entire. And what is said, sufficiently subverts the force of Mr. Webster's Arguments against their Opinion, that say it was the Devil that appeared to Saul. I will only take notice, that what is here said, abundantly affords Proof, for the Conclusion, namely, for the Existence of Spirits, Apparitions, and Witches, from Testimony of Holy Scripture, to as many as yield to the Authority thereof. But the following Collection of Relations is a Confirmation of the same things, as well to the Anti-Scripturists, as to them that believe Scripture.]

AND the leading Story of the Dæmon of Tedworth, I hope will prove irrefragable, and unexceptionable, if the Reader retain in his mind, Mr. Glanvill's Preface to this second Part, and Mr. Mompeffon's Two Letters, the one to Mr. Glanvill, the other to Mr. Collins, which cannot but abundantly undeceive the World. So that it is needless to record how Mr. Glanvill wrote to Mr. William Clager of Bury, and professed, He had not the least ground to think he was imposed on in what he related, and that he had great cause from what he saw himself, to say, it was impossible there should be any Imposture in that business.

TO the same purpose he wrote to Mr. Gilbert Clark in Northamptonshire, as also to myself, and undoubtedly to many more, as he has intimated in his Preface. Besides that, to the Parties above named, he sent a Copy of that Letter of Mr. Mompeffon which was wrote to himself. And that groundless Rumour being thus fully silenced, we may now seasonably relate, with confidence, that assured and unexceptionably attested Story of the Dæmon of Tedworth. Which is as follows.



The Proof of
 APPARITIONS, SPIRITS, *and* WITCHES,
 F R O M
A Choice COLLECTION
 O F
Modern RELATIONS.

R E L A T I O N I.

The Compleat Narrative of the Dæmon of Tedworth, being the Disturbances at Mr. Mompeffon's House, caused by Witchcraft, and the villany of the Drummer.



R. *John Mompeffon* of *Tedworth*, in the County of *Wilts*, being about the middle of *March*, in the Year 1661. at a Neighbouring Town called *Ludgarshal*, and hearing a Drum beat there, he inquired of the Bailiff of the Town, at whose House he then was, what it meant. The Bailiff told him, that they had for some days been troubled with an idle Drummer, who demanded Money of the Constable by vertue of a pretended Pass, which he thought was counterfeit. Upon this Mr. *Mompeffon* sent for the Fellow, and askt him by what Authority he went up and down the Country in that manner with his Drum. The Drummer answered, he had good Authority, and produc'd his Pass, with a Warrant under the Hands of Sir *William Carewey*, and Colonel *Ayliff* of *Gretenham*. Mr. *Mompeffon* knowing these Gentlemen's Hands, discovered that the Pass and Warrant were coun-

counterfeit, and thereupon commanding the Vagrant to put off his Drum, and charged the Constable to carry him before the next Justice of the Peace, to be farther Examined and Punish'd. The Fellow then confessed the Cheat, and begg'd earnestly to have his Drum. Mr. *Mompesson* told him, that if he understood from Colonel *Ayliff*, whose Drummer he said he was, that he had been an honest Man, he should have it again, but in the mean time he would secure it, so he left the Drum with the Bailiff, and the Drummer in the Constable's Hands, who it seems was prevailed on by the Fellow's intreaties to let him go.

ABOUT the midst of *April* following, when Mr. *Mompesson* was preparing for a Journey to *London*, the Bailiff sent the Drum to his House; when he was returned from that Journey, his Wife told him that they had been much affrighted in the Night by Thieves, and that the House had like to have been broken up. And he had not been at home above three Nights, when the same Noise was heard that had disturbed his Family in his absence. It was a very great knocking at his Doors, and the outsides of his House: Hereupon he got up, and went about the House with a Brace of Pistols in his Hands; he opened the Door where the great Knocking was, and then he heard the Noise at another Door, he opened that also, and went out round the House, but could discover nothing, only he still heard a strange Noise and hollow Sound. When he was got back to Bed, the Noise was a Thumping and Drumming on the top of his House, which continued a good space, and then by degrees went off into the Air.

AFTER this, the Noise of Thumping and Drumming was very frequent, usually five Nights together, and then it would intermit three. It was on the outsides of the House, which is most of it of Board. It constantly came as they were going to sleep, whether early or late. After a Month's Disturbance without, it came into the Room where the Drum lay, four or five Nights in seven, within half an Hour after they were in Bed, continuing almost two. The sign of it just before it came, was, they still heard an hurling in the Air over the House, and at its going off, the beating of a Drum like that at the breaking up of a Guard. It continued in this Room for the space of two Months, which time Mr. *Mompesson* himself lay there to observe it. In the fore-part of the Night, it used to be very troublesome, but after two Hours all would be quiet.

Mrs.

Mrs. *Mompesson* being brought to Bed, there was but little Noise the Night she was in Travail, nor any for three Weeks after, till she had recovered strength. But after this civil Cessation, it returned in a ruder manner than before, and followed and vext the youngest Children beating their Bed-steads with that violence, that all present, expected when they would fall in pieces. In laying Hands on them, one should feel no Blows, but might perceive them to shake exceedingly: For an Hour together it would Beat, *Round-heads* and *Cuckolds*, the *Tat-too*, and several other *Points of War*, as well as any Drummer. After this, they should hear a scratching under the Childrens Beds, as if by something that had Iron-Talons. It would lift the Children up in their Beds, follow them from one Room to another, and for a while, haunted none particularly but them.

THERE was a Cock-loft in the House, which had not been observed to be troubled, thither they removed the Children, putting them to Bed while it was fair Day, where they were no sooner laid, but their Troubler was with them as before.

ON the Fifth of *November* 1661, It kept a mighty Noise, and a Servant observing two Boards in the Childrens Room seeming to move, he bid it give him one of them; upon which the Board came (nothing moving it that he saw) within a Yard of him; the Man added, *Nay let me have it in my Hand*; upon which it was shov'd quite home to him again, and so up and down, to and fro, at least twenty times together, till Mr. *Mompesson* forbid his Servant such Familiarities. This was in the Day-time, and seen by a whole Room-full of People. That Morning it left a sulphurous Smell behind it, which was very offensive. At Night the Minister, one Mr. *Cragg*, and divers of the Neighbours came to the House on a Visit. The Minister went to Prayers with them, kneeling at the Childrens Bed-side, where it was then very troublesome and loud. During Prayer-time it withdrew into the Cock-loft, but returned as soon as Prayers were done, and then in sight of the Company, the Chairs walkt about the Room of themselves, the Childrens Shoes were hurled over their Heads, and every loose thing moved about the Chamber. At the same time a Bed-staff was thrown at the Minister, which hit him on the Leg, but so favourably, that a lock of Wool could not fall

more softly, and it was observed, that it stop'd just where it lighted, without rolling or moving from the place.

MR. MOMPESSON perceiving that it so much persecuted the little Children, he lodged them out at a Neighbour's House, taking his eldest Daughter, who was about ten Years of Age, into his own Chamber, where it had not been a Month before. As soon as she was in Bed, the Disturbance began there again, continuing three Weeks Drumming, and making other noises, and it was observed, that it would exactly answer in Drumming, any thing that was beaten, or called for. After this, the House where the Children were lodged out, happening to be full of Strangers, they were taken home, and no disturbance having been known in the Parlour, they were lodged there, where also their Persecutor found them, but then only pluckt them by the Hair and Night-cloaths without any other disturbance.

It was noted, that when the noise was loudest, and came with the most sudden and surprizing violence, no Dog about the House would move, though the knocking was oft so boisterous and rude, that it hath been heard at a considerable distance in the Fields, and awakned the Neighbours in the Village, none of which live very near this House. The Servants sometimes were lift up with their Beds, and let them gently down again without hurt, at other times it would lie like a great Weight upon their Feet.

ABOUT the latter end of Dec. 1661, the Drumming was less frequent, and then they heard a noise like the gingling of Money, occasioned, as it was thought, by somewhat Mr. Mompeyson's Mother had spoken the Day before to a Neighbour, who talk'd of *Fairies* leaving Money, viz. That she should like it well, if it would leave them some to make amends for their Trouble. The Night after the speaking of which, there was a great chinking of Money over all the House.

AFTER this, it desisted from the ruder noises, and employed itself in little Apish, and less troublesome Tricks. On *Christmas-eve*, a little before Day, one of the little Boys arising out of his Bed, was hit on a fore place upon his Heel, with the Latch of the Door, the Pin that it was fastened with was so small, that it was a difficult matter to pick it out. The Night after *Christ-*
S
mass-day,

mass-day, it threw the old Gentlewoman's Cloaths about the Room, and hid her Bible in the Ashes. In such filly Tricks it was frequent.

AFTER this, it was very troublesome to a Servant of Mr. *Mompesson's*, who was a stout Fellow, and of sober Conversation; this Man lay within during the greatest disturbance, and for several Nights something would endeavour to pluck his Cloaths off the Bed, so that he was fain to tug hard to keep them on, and sometimes they would be pluck'd from him by main force, and his Shoes thrown at his Head; and now and then he should find himself forcibly held, as it were bound Hand and Foot, but he found that whenever he could make use of his Sword, and struck with it, the Spirit quitted its hold.

A little after these contests, a Son of Mr. *Thomas Bennet*, whose Workman the Drummer had sometimes been, came to the House, and told Mr. *Mompesson* some Words that he had spoken, which it seems was not well taken. For as soon as they were in Bed, the Drum was beat up very violently and loudly, the Gentleman arose and called his Man to him, who lay with Mr. *Mompesson's* Servant, just now spoken of, whose Name was *John*. As soon as Mr. *Bennet's* Man was gone. *John* heard a rustling noise in his Chamber, and something came to his Bed-side, as if it had been one in Silk; the Man presently reached after his Sword, which he found held from him, and 'twas with difficulty and much tugging that he got it into his power, which as soon as he had done, the Spectre left him, and it was always observed, that it still avoided a Sword.

ABOUT the beginning of *January*, 1662, they were wont to hear a Singing in the Chimney before it came down. And one Night about this time, Lights were seen in the House. One of them came into Mr. *Mompesson's* Chamber, which seemed blue and glimmering, and caused great stiffness in the Eyes of those that saw it. After the Light, something was heard coming up the Stairs, as if it had been one without Shoes. The Light was seen also four or five times in the Childrens Chamber; and the Maids confidently affirm, that the Doors were at least ten times opened and shut in their sight, and when they were opened, they heard a noise

as if half a dozen had entered together, after which some were heard to walk about the Room, and one rustled as if it had been Silk; the like Mr. *Mompesson* himself once heard.

DURING the time of the knocking, when many were present, a Gentleman of the Company said, *Satan, if the Drummer set thee to work, give three knocks and no more;* which it did very distinctly, and stop'd: Then the Gentleman knock'd to see if it would answer him as it was wont, but it did not: For farther trial, he bid it, for confirmation, if it were the Drummer, to give five knocks and no more that Night, which it did, and left the House quiet all the Night after. This was done in the presence of Sir *Thomas Chamberlain* of *Oxfordshire*, and divers others.

ON *Saturday* Morning, an Hour before Day, *Jan. 10*, a Drum was heard beat upon the outsidés of Mr. *Mompesson's* Chamber, from whence it went to the other end of the House, where some Gentlemen strangers lay, playing at their Door and without, four or five several Tunes, and so went off into the Air.

THE next Night, a Smith in the Village lying with *John* the Man, they heard a noise in the Room, as one had been a Shoeing of an Horse, and somewhat came, as if it were with a Pair of Pincers, snipping at the Smith's Nose most part of the Night.

ONE Morning Mr. *Mompesson* rising early to go a Journey, heard a great noise below, where the Children lay, and running down with a Pistol in his Hand, he heard a Voice, crying, *A Witch, A Witch*, as they also had heard it once before. Upon his entrance all was quiet.

HAVING one Night played some little Tricks at Mr. *Mompesson's* Beds-feet, it went into another Bed, where one of his Daughters lay; there it passed from side to side, lifting her up as it passed under. At that time there were three kinds of noises in the Bed, they endeavoured to thrust at it with a Sword, but it still shifted and carefully avoided the thrust, still getting under the Child, when they offered at it. The Night after, it came panting like a Dog out of breath; upon which, one took a Bed-staff to knock, which was caught out of her Hand, and thrown away, and Company coming up, the Room was presently filled with a bloomy

noisome Smell, and was very hot, though without Fire, in a very sharp and severe Winter. It continued in the Bed panting and scratching an Hour and half, and then went into the next Chamber, where it knock'd a little, and seemed to rattle a Chain; thus it did for two or three Nights together.

AFTER this, the Gentlewoman's Bible was found in the Ashes, the Paper-fides being downwards. Mr. *Mompesson* took it up, and observed that it lay open at the third Chapter of St. *Mark*, where there is mention of the unclean Spirits falling down before our Saviour, and of his giving power to the Twelve to cast out Devils, and of the Scribes Opinion, that he cast them out through *Beelzebub*.

THE next Night they strewed Ashes over the Chamber, to see what Impressions it would leave; in the Morning they found in one place, the resemblance of a great Claw, in another, of a lesser, some Letters in another, which they could make nothing of, besides many Circles and Scratches in the Ashes.

ABOUT this time I went to the House, on purpose to enquire the Truth of those Passages, of which there was so loud a report. It had ceased from its Drumming and ruder Noises before I came thither, but most of the more remarkable Circumstances before related, were confirmed to me there, by several of the Neighbours together, who had been present at them. At this time it used to haunt the Children, and that as soon as they were laid. They went to Bed that Night I was there, about 8 of the Clock, when a Maid-servant coming down from them, told us it was come. The Neighbours that were there, and two Ministers who had seen and heard divers times, went away, but Mr. *Mompesson* and I, and a Gentleman that came with me went up. I heard a strange scratching as I went up the Stairs, and when we came into the Room, I perceived it was just behind the bolster of the Childrens Bed, and seemed to be against the Tick. It was as loud a scratching, as one with long Nails could make upon a Bolster. There were two little modest Girls in the Bed, between 7 and 8 Years old, as I guess. I saw their Hands out of the Cloaths, and they could not contribute to the Noise that was behind their Heads; they had been used to it, and had still some body or other in the Chamber
with

with them, and therefore seemed not to be much affrighted. I standing at the Bed's-head, thrust my Hand behind the Bolster, directing it to the place whence the Noise seem'd to come, whereupon the Noise ceased there, and was heard in another part of the Bed; but when I had taken out my Hand it returned, and was heard in the same place as before. I had been told that it would imitate Noises, and made trial by scratching several times upon the Sheet, as 5 and 7 and 10, which it followed and still stop'd at my Number. I search'd under and behind the Bed, turned up the Cloaths to the Bed-cords, grasp'd the Bolster, sounded the Wall behind, and made all the search that possibly I could to find if there were any Trick, Contrivance, or common Cause of it; the like did my Friend, but we could discover nothing. So that I was then verily persuaded, and am so still, that the Noise was made by some *Dæmon* or *Spirit*. After it had scratch'd about half an Hour or more, it went into the midst of the Bed under the Children, and there seem'd to pant like a Dog out of Breath very loudly. I put my Hand upon the place, and felt the Bed bearing up against it, as if something within had thrust it up. I grasp'd the Feathers, to feel if any living thing were in it. I look'd under and every where about, to see if there were any Dog or Cat, or any such Creature in the Room, and so we all did, but found nothing. The motion it caused by this panting was so strong, that it shook the Room and Windows very sensibly. It continued thus more than half an Hour, while my Friend and I staid in the Room, and as long after, as we were told. During the panting, I chanced to see as it had been something (which I thought was a Rat or Mouse) moving in a Linnen-Bag, that hung up against another Bed that was in the Room, I stept and caught it by the upper-end with one Hand, with which I held it, and drew it through the other, but found nothing at all in it. There was no body near to shake the Bag, or if there had, no one could have made such a Motion, which seemed to be from within, as if a living Creature had moved in it. This Passage I mention'd not in the former Editions, because it depended upon my single Testimony, and might be subject to more Evasions than the other I related; but having told it to divers learned and inquisitive Men, who thought it not altogether inconsiderable, I have now added it here.

It will I know be said by some, that my Friend and I were under some affright, and so fancied Noises and sights that were not. This is the eternal Evasion. But if it be possible to know how a Man is affected, when in fear, and when unconcerned, I certainly know for mine own part, that during the whole time of my being in the Room, and in the House, I was under no more Affrightment; than I am while I write this Relation. And if I know that I am now awake, and that I see the objects that are before me, I know that I heard and saw the particulars I have told. There is, I am sensible, no great matter for Story in them, but there is so much as convinceth me, that there was somewhat extraordinary, and what we usually call preternatural in the business. There were other Passages at my being at *Tedworth*, which I published not, because they are not such plain and unexceptionable Proofs. I shall now briefly mention them; *Valeant quantum valere possunt*. My Friend and I lay in the Chamber, where the first and chief disturbance had been. We slept well all Night, but early before Day in the Morning, I was awakened, (and I awakened my Bed-fellow) by a great Knocking just without our Chamber-door. I ask'd who was there several times, but the Knocking still continued without Answer. At last I said, *In the Name of God who is it, and what would you have?* To which a Voice answered, *Nothing with you*. We thinking it had been some Servant of the House, went to sleep again. But speaking of it to Mr. *Mompesson* when we came down, he assured us, that no one of the House lay that way, or had business thereabout, and that his Servants were not up till he called them, which was after it was Day; which they confirmed, and protested that the Noise was not made by them. Mr. *Mompesson* had told us before, that it would be gone in the middle of the Night, and come again divers times early in the Morning, about Four a Clock, and this I suppose was about that time.

ANOTHER Passage was this, my Man coming up to me in the Morning, told me, that one of my Horses (that on which I rode) was all in a sweat, and look'd as if he had been rid all Night. My Friend and I went down and found him so. I enquired how he had been used, and was assured that he had been well fed, and order'd as he used to be, and my Servant was one that was wont to be very
careful

careful about my Horses. The Horse I had had a good time, and never knew but that he was very sound. But after I had rid him a Mile or two, very gently over a plain Down from Mr. *Mompesson's* House, he fell lame, and having made a hard shift to bring me home, died in 2 or 3 Days, no one being able to imagine what he ailed. This I confess might be accident, or some unusual Distemper, but all things being put together, it seems very probable that it was somewhat else.

BUT I go on with Mr. *Mompesson's* own particulars. There came one Morning a Light into the Childrens Chamber, and a Voice crying, *A Witch, a Witch*, for at least an Hundred times together.

MR. MOMPESSESON at another time, (being in the Day) seeing some Wood move that was in the Chimney of a Room, where he was, as of itself, discharged a Pistol into it, after which, they found several Drops of Blood on the Hearth, and in divers places of the Stairs.

FOR two or three Nights after the discharge of the Pistol, there was a calm in the House, but then it came again, applying itself to a little Child newly taken from Nurse, which it so persecuted, that it would not let the poor Infant rest for two Nights together, nor suffer a Candle in the Room, but carry'd them away lighted up the Chimney, or throw them under the Bed. It so scared this Child by leaping upon it, that for some Hours it could not be recover'd out of the Fright; so that they were forced again to remove the Children out of the House. The next Night after which, something about Midnight came up the Stairs and knock'd at Mr. *Mompesson's* Door, but he lying still, it went up another pair of Stairs, to his Man's Chamber, to whom it appeared, standing at his Bed's foot; the exact Shape and Proportion he could not discover, but he saith he saw a great Body, with two red and glaring Eyes, which for some time were fixed steadily upon him, and at length disappeared.

ANOTHER Night, Strangers being present, it purr'd in the Childrens Bed like a Cat, at which time also, the Cloaths and Children were lift up from the Bed, and six Men could not keep them down; hereupon they removed the Children, intending to have ripp'd up the Bed; but they were no sooner laid in another, but the second Bed was more troubled than the first. It continued thus four

Hours, and so beat the Childrens Legs against the Bed-posts, that they were forced to arise, and sit up all Night. After this it would empty Chamber-pots into their Beds, and strew them with ashes, though they were never so carefully watch'd. It put a long pike Iron into Mr. *Mompesson's* Bed, and into his Mother's a naked Knife upright. It would fill Porrengers with Ashes, throw every thing about, and keep a noise all Day.

ABOUT the beginning of *April*, 1663, a Gentleman that lay in the House, had all his Money turned black in his Pockets; and Mr. *Mompesson* coming one Morning into his Stable, found the Horse he was wont to ride, on the ground, having one of his hinder Legs in his Mouth, and so fastned there, that it was difficult for several Men to get it out with a Leaver. After this, there were some other remarkable things, but my Account goes no farther; only Mr. *Mompesson* writ me word, that afterwards the House was several Nights beset with 7 or 8 in the shape of Men, who, as soon as a Gun was discharg'd, would shuffle away together into an Arbour.

THE Drummer was tried at the Assizes at *Salisbury* upon this occasion. He was committed first to *Gloucester* Goal for Stealing, and a *Wiltshire* Man coming to see him, he ask'd what News in *Wiltshire*; the Visitant said, he knew of none: No, saith the Drummer, *Do not you hear of the Drumming at a Gentleman's House at Tedworth? That I do enough*, said the other: *I*, quoth the Drummer, *I have plagued him*, (or to that purpose) *and he shall never be quiet, till he hath made me satisfaction for taking away my Drum*. Upon Information of this, the Fellow was tried for a Witch at *Sarum*, and all the main Circumstances I have related, were sworn at the Assizes, by the Minister of the Parish, and divers others of the most intelligent and substantial Inhabitants, who had been Eye and Ear witnesses of them, time after time, for divers Years together.

THE Fellow was condemned to Transportation, and accordingly sent away; but I know not how ('tis said by raising Storms, and affrighting the Seamen) he made a shift to come back again. And 'tis observable, that during all the time of his restraint and absence, the House was quiet, but as soon as ever he came back at liberty, the disturbance returned.

HE had been a Soldier under *Cromwel*, and used to talk much of gallant Books he had of an old Fellow, who was counted a Wizzard. Upon this occasion I shall here add a Passage, which I had not from Mr. *Mompesson*, but yet relates to the main purpose.

THE Gentleman who was with me at the House, Mr. *Hill*, being in Company with one *Compton* of *Summer-setshire*, who practised Physick, and pretends to strange Matters, related to him this Story of Mr. *Mompesson*'s Disturbance. The Physician told him, he was sure it was nothing but a Rendezvous of Witches, and that for an Hundred Pounds he would undertake to rid the House of all Disturbance. In pursuit of this Discourse, he talk'd of many high things, and having drawn my Friend into another Room, apart from the rest of the Company, said, he would make him sensible he could do something more than ordinary, and ask'd him who he desired to see, Mr. *Hill* had no great confidence in his talk, but yet being earnestly press'd to name some one, he said, he desir'd to see no one so much as his Wife, who was then many Miles distant from them at her home. Upon this, *Compton* took up a Looking-glass that was in the Room, and setting it down again, bid my Friend look in it, which he did, and there, as he most solemnly and seriously professeth, he saw the exact Image of his Wife, in that Habit which she then wore, and working at her Needle in such a part of the Room (there represented also) in which and about which time she really was, as he found upon enquiry when he came home. The Gentleman himself averred this to me, and he is a very sober, intelligent, and credible Person. *Compton* had no knowledge of him before, and was an utter stranger to the Person of his Wife. The same Man we shall meet again, in the Story of the Witchcrafts of *Elizabeth Style*, whom he discovered to be a Witch, by foretelling her coming into an House, and going out again without speaking, as is set down in the third Relation. He was by all accounted a very odd Person.

THUS I have written the sum of Mr. *Mompesson*'s Disturbance, which I had partly from his own Mouth, related before divers, who had been Witnesses of all, and confirm'd his relation, and partly from his own Letters, from which the order and series of things is taken. The same particulars he writ also to Dr. *Creed*, then Doctor of the Chair in *Oxford*.

MR.

MR. MOMPESSEON is a Gentleman, of whose truth in this account, I have not the least ground of suspicion, he being neither vain nor credulous, but a discreet, sagacious and manly person. Now the credit of matters of Fact depends much upon the Relators, who, if they cannot be deceived themselves, nor supposed any ways interested to impose upon others, ought to be credited. For upon these circumstances, all human Faith is grounded, and matter of Fact is not capable of any proof besides, but that of immediate sensible evidence. Now this Gentleman cannot be thought ignorant, whether that he relates be true or no, the Scene of all being his own house, himself a witness, and that not of a circumstance or two, but of an hundred, nor for once or twice only, but for the space of some years, during which he was a concerned, and inquisitive Observer. So that it cannot with any shew of reason be supposed that any of his Servants abused him, since in all that time he must needs have detected the deceit. And what interest could any of his Family have had (if it had been possible to have manag'd without Discovery) to continue so long so troublesome, and so injurious an Imposture? Nor can it with any whit of more probability be imagined, that his own melancholy deluded him, (since besides that he is no crazy, nor imaginative person) that humour could not have been so lasting and pertinacious. Or if it were so in him, can we think he infected his whole Family, and those multitudes of Neighbours and others, who had so often been witnesses of those passages? Such supposals are wild, and not like to tempt any, but those whose wills are their Reasons. So that upon the whole, the principal Relator Mr. *Mompesson* himself knew, whether what he reports was true or not, whether those things acted in his House were contrived *Cheats*, or extraordinary *Realities*. And if so, what interest could he serve in carrying on, or conniving at a juggling Design and Imposture?

HE suffered by it in his Name, in his Estate, in all his Affairs, and in the general peace of his Family. The Unbelievers in the matter of Spirits and Witches took him for an Impostor. Many others judged the permission of such an extraordinary Evil to be the judgment of God upon him, for some notorious wickedness or impiety. Thus his Name was continually exposed to censure, and his Estate suffered, by the Concourse of People from all Parts to his House, by the diversion it gave him from his affairs, by
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the discouragement of Servants, by reason of which he could hardly get any to live with him. To which if I add the continual hurry that his Family was in, the affrights, vexations and tossings up and down of his Children, and the watchings and Disturbance of his whole house (in all which, himself must needs be the most concern'd) I say, if these things are considered, there will be little reason to think he could have any interest to put a cheat upon the World, in which he would most have injured and abused himself. Or if he should of all have designed and managed so incredible, so unprofitable a Delusion, 'tis strange that he should have troubled himself so long in such a business, only to deceive, and to be talk'd of. And it is yet more so, that none of those many inquisitive persons that came thither purposely to criticize and examine the truth of those matters, could make any discoveries of the Juggling, especially since many came prejudiced against the belief of such things in general, and others resolved before-hand against the belief of this, and all were permitted the utmost freedom of search and enquiry. And after things were weighed and examined, some that were before greatly prejudiced, went away fully convinced. To all which I add:

THAT there are divers particulars in the story, in which no abuse or deceit could have been practised, as the motion of Boards and Chairs of themselves, the beating of a Drum in the midst of a Room, and in the Air, when nothing was to be seen: the great heat in a Chamber that had no Fire in excessive cold weather, the scratching and panting, the violent beating and shaking of the Bedsteads, of which there was no perceivable cause or occasion: In these and such like Instances, it is not to be conceived how tricks could have been put upon so many, so jealous, and so inquisitive Persons as were witnesses of them.

'Tis true, that when the Gentlemen the King sent were there, the House was quiet, and nothing seen nor heard that night, which was confidently and with triumph urged by many, as a confutation of the story. But 'twas bad Logick to conclude in matters of *Fact* from a single *Negative*, and such a one against numerous *Affirmatives*, and so affirm that a thing was never done, because not at such a particular time, and that nobody ever saw what this Man or that did not. By the same way of reasoning I may infer that there were never any Robberies, done

on *Salisbury Plain*, *Hounslow Heath*, or the noted places, because I have often travelled all those ways, and yet was never robbed; and the *Spaniard* inferred well that said, *There was no Sun in England, because he had been six weeks here, and never saw it.* This is the common argument of those that deny the Being of *Apparitions*, they have travelled all hours of the night, and never saw any thing worse than themselves, (which may well be) and thence they conclude, that all pretended *Apparitions* are *Fancies* or *Impostures*. But why do not such arguers conclude, that there was never a Cut-purse in *London*, because they have lived there many years without being met with by any of those Practises? Certainly he that denies *Apparitions* upon the confidence of this *Negative* against the vast heap of *Positive* assurances, is credulous in believing there was ever any *Highway-man* in the World, if he himself was never robb'd. And the Trials of Affizes and Attestations of those that have (if he will be just) ought to move his Assent no more in this case, than in that of *Witches* and *Apparitions*, which have the very same evidence.

BUT as to the quiet of Mr. *Mompesson's* house when the Courtiers were there, it may be remembred and considered, that the disturbance was not constant, but intermitted sometimes several days, sometimes weeks. So that the intermission at that time might be accidental, or perhaps the *Dæmon* was not willing to give so publick a Testimony of those Transactions, which possibly might convince those, who he had rather should continue in the unbelief of his existence. But however it were, this circumstance will afford but a very slender inference against the credit of the story, except among those who are willing to take any thing for an Argument against things which they have an interest not to acknowledge.

I have thus related the sum of the story, and noted some circumstances that assure the truth of it. I confess the passages recited are not so dreadful, tragical and amazing, as there are some in story of this kind; yet are they never the less probable or true, for being not so prodigious and astonishing. And they are strange enough to prove themselves effects of some *invisible extraordinary Agents*, and so demonstrate that there are *Spirits*, who sometimes sensibly intermeddle in our affairs. And I think

think they do it with clearness of evidence. For these things were not done long ago, or at far distance, in an ignorant age, or among a barbarous people, they were not seen by two or three only of the Melancholick and Superstitious, and reported by those that made them serve the advantage and interest of a party. They were not the passages of a Day or Night, nor the vanishing glances of an *Apparition*; but these Transactions were *near and late, publick, frequent, and of divers years continuance*, witnessed by multitudes of competent and unbiassed Attorneys, and acted in a searching incredulous Age: Arguments enough one would think to convince any modest and capable reason.

RELATION II.

Concerning the Witchcraft practised by Jane Brooks upon Richard Jones, Son of Henry Jones of Shepton Mallet.

ON Sunday 15. of November, 1657, about Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, *Richard Jones* then a sprightly youth about twelve years old, Son of *Henry Jones* of *Shepton Mallet*, in the County of *Somerset*, being in his Father's house alone, and perceiving one looking in at the Windows, went to the Door, where one *Jane Brooks* of the same Town (but then by name unknown to this Boy) came to him. She desired him to give her a piece of close Bread, and gave him an Apple. After which she also stroked him down on the right side, shook him by the hand, and so bid him good night. The youth returned into the house, where he had been left well, when his Father and one *Gibson* went from him, but at their return, which was within an hour or thereabout, they found him ill, and complaining of his right side, in which the pain continued in most part of that night. And on Monday following in the Evening, the Boy roasted the Apple he had of *Jane Brooks*, and having eat about half of it, was extreamly ill, and sometimes speechless, but being recovered, he told his Father that a Woman of the Town on Sunday before, had given him that Apple, and that she stroked him on the side. He said

said he knew not her name, but should her person if he saw her. Upon this *Jones* was advised to invite the Women of *Shepton* to come to his House, upon the occasion of his Son's illness, and the Child told him, that in case the Woman should come in when he was in his Fit, if he were not able to speak, he would give him an intimation by a Jogg, and desired that his Father would lead him through the Room, for he said he would put his hand upon her, if she were there. After this he continuing very ill, many Women came daily to see him. And *Jane Brooks* the *Sunday* after, came in with two of her Sisters, and several other Women of the Neighbourhood were there.

UPON her coming in, the Boy was taken so ill, that for some time he could not see nor speak, but having recovered his sight, he gave his Father the *Item*, and he led him about the Room. The Boy drew towards *Jane Brooks*, who was behind her two Sisters among the other Women, and put his hand upon her, which his Father perceiving, immediately scratcheth her Face and drew Blood from her. The Youth then presently crying out that he was well, and so he continued seven or eight days. But then meeting with *Alice Coward*, Sister to *Jane Brooks*, who passing by said to him, [How do you do my Honey] he presently fell ill again. And after that, the said *Coward* and *Brooks* often appeared to him. The Boy would describe the Cloths and Habit they were in at the time exactly, as the Constable and others have found upon repairing to them, though *Brooks's* House was at a good distance from *Jones's*. This they often tried, and always found the Boy right in his Descriptions.

ON a certain *Sunday* about Noon, the Child being in a Room with his Father and one *Gibson*, and in his Fit, he on a sudden called out, that he saw *Jane Brooks* on the wall, and pointed to the place, where immediately *Gibson* struck with a Knife. Upon which the Boy cried out, [O Father, couz *Gibson* hath cut *Jane Brooks's* hand, and 'tis Bloody.] The Father and *Gibson* immediately repaired to the Constable, a discreet Person, and acquainting him with what had passed, desired him to go with him to *Jane Brooks's* House, which he did. They found her sitting in her Room on a Stool with one hand over the other. The Constable ask'd her how she did? She answered, not well. He ask'd again why she sat with

one hand over the other? she replied, she was wont to do so. He enquired if any thing were amiss with her Hand? Her answer was, it was well enough. The Constable desired he might see the hand that was under, which she being unwilling to shew him, he drew it out and found it bloody according to what the Boy had said. Being ask'd how it came so, she said 'twas scratched with a great Pin.

ON the Eighth of *December*, 1657, the Boy, *Jane Brooks* and *Alice Coward*, appeared at *Castle-Cary* before the Justices, Mr. *Hunt* and Mr. *Cary*. The Boy having began to give his Testimony, upon the coming in of the two Women and their looking on him was instantly taken Speechless; and so remained till the Woman were removed out of the Room, and then in a short time upon Examination he gave a full relation of the mentioned particulars.

ON the Eleventh of *January* following, the Boy was again examined by the same Justices at *Shepton Mallet*, and upon the sight of *Jane Brooks* was again taken Speechless, but was not so afterwards when *Alice Coward* came into the Room to him.

ON the next appearance at *Shepton*, which was on the Seventeenth of *February*, there were present many Gentlemen, Ministers and others. The Boy fell into his Fits upon the sight of *Jane Brooks*, and lay in a Man's Arms like a dead Person; the Woman was then willed to lay her Hand on him, which she did, and he thereupon started and sprang out in a very strange and unusual manner. One of the Justices, to prevent all possibilities of Legerdemain, caused *Gibson* and the rest to stand off from the Boy, and then that Justice himself held him; the Youth being blind-folded, the Justice called as if *Brooks* should touch him, but winked to others to do it, which two or three successively did, but the Boy appeared not concerned. The Justice then called on the Father to take him, but had privately before desired one Mr. *Geoffery Strode* to bring *Jane Brooks* to touch him at such a time as he should call for his Father, which was done, and the Boy immediately sprang out after a very odd and violent fashion. He was after touched by several Persons and moved not, but *Jane Brooks* being again caused to put her Hand upon him, he started and sprang out twice or thrice as before. All this while he remained

in his Fit and some time after ; and being then laid on a Bed in the same Room, the People present could not for a long time bow either of his Arms or Legs.

BETWEEN the mentioned 15. of *Nov.* and the 11. of *Jan.* the two Women appeared often to the Boy, their Hands cold, their Eyes staring, and their Lips and Cheeks looking pale. In this manner on a *Thursday* about Noon, the Boy being newly laid into his Bed, *Jane Brooks* and *Alice Coward* appeared to him, and told him that what they had begun they could not perform. But if he would say no more of it, they would give him Money, and so put a Two-pence into his Pocket. After which they took him out of his Bed, laid him on the ground and vanished, and the Boy was found by those that came next into the Room lying on the Floor as if he had been dead. The Two-pence was seen by many, and when it was put into the Fire and hot, the Boy would fall ill ; but as soon as it was taken out and cold, he would be again as well as before. This was seen and observed by a Minister, a discreet Person, when the Boy was in one Room, and the Two-pence (without his knowledge) put into the Fire in another, and this was divers times tried, in the presence of several Persons.

BETWEEN the 8. of *Dec.* and the 17. of *Feb.* in the Year mentioned, divers Persons at sundry times, heard in the Boy, a noise like the croaking of a Toad, and a Voice within him saying, *Jane Brooks*, *Alice Coward*, twelve times in near a quarter of an Hour. At the same time some held a Candle before the Boy's Face, and earnestly looked on him, but could not perceive the least motion of his Tongue, Teeth, or Lips, while the Voice was heard.

ON the 25. of *Feb.* between two and three in the afternoon, the Boy being at the House of *Richard Isles* in *Shepton Mallet*, went out of the Room into the Garden, *Isles* his Wife followed him, and was within two Yards when she saw him rise up from the ground before her, and so mounted higher and higher, till he passed in the Air over the Garden Wall, and was carried so above ground more than 30 Yards, falling at last at one *Jordan's* Door at *Shepton*, where he was found as dead for a time ; but coming to himself, told *Jordan*, that *Jane Brooks* had

had taken him up by the Arm out of *Iſes* his Garden and carried him in the Air, as is related.

THE Boy at ſeveral other times, was gone on the ſudden, and upon ſearch after him, found in another Room as dead, and at ſometimes ſtrangely hanging above the ground; his Hands being flat againſt a great Beam in the top of the Room, and all his Body 2 or 3 Foot from ground. There he hath hung a quarter of an Hour together, and being afterwards come to himſelf, he told thoſe that found him, that *Jane Brooks* had carried him to that place, and held him there. Nine People at a time ſaw the Boy ſo ſtrangely hanging by the Beam.

FROM the 15. of *Nov.* to the 10. of *March* following, he was by reaſon of his Fits, much waſted in his Body, and unſpirited, but after that time, being the Day the two Women were ſent to Goal, he had no more of thoſe Fits.

JANE BROOKS was condemned and executed at *Charde Affizes*, *March* 26, 1658.

THIS is the ſum of Mr. *Hunt*'s Narrative, which concludes with both the Juſtices Atteſtation, thus:

THE aforeſaid Paſſages, were ſome of them ſeen by us; and the reſt, and ſome other remarkable ones, not here ſet down, were upon the Examination of ſeveral credible Witneſſes, taken upon Oath before us.

Subſcribed,

Rob. Hunt, John Cary.

THIS I think is good Evidence of the being of Witches; if the *Sadducee* be not ſatiſfied with it, I would fain know what kind of Proof he would expect. Here are Teſtimonies of Senſe, the Oaths of ſeveral credible Atteſtors, the nice and deliberate Scrutiny of quick-fighted and judicious Examiners, and the Judgment of an Affize upon the whole. And now the ſecurity of all our Lives and Fortunes depends upon no greater circumſtances of Evidence than theſe. If ſuch Proof may not be credited, no Fact can be proved, no Wickedneſs can be puniſhed, no Right can be determined, Law is at an end, and blind Juſtice cannot tell how to decide any thing.

N. B. THE moſt fit Advertiſement here, is Mr. *Glanvill*'s *Transition to freſh Evidences*, out of Mr. *Hunt*'s *Examinations*, which is this. Thus far, ſaith he, the Evidence of Fact went in the former Editions, but having

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reſolved

resolved upon this Re-inforcement, I writ again to my Honoured Friend Mr. Hunt, knowing he had more Materials for my purpose, and such as would afford Proof sufficient to any modest Doubter. In Answer, he was pleased to send me his Book of Examinations of Witches, which he kept by him, fairly written. It contains, the Discovery of such an Hellish Knot of them, and that Discovery so clear and plain, that perhaps there hath not yet any thing appeared to us with stronger Evidence to confirm the belief of Witches. And had not his Discoveries and Endeavours met with great Opposition and Discouragements from some then in Authority, the whole Clan of those Hellish Confederates in these parts had been justly exposed and punished. Out of that Book I have collected some main Instances, the clearness of which I think will be enough to overcome and silence any indifferent Prejudice. But some are so settled and obdurate, that no Proof in the World is sufficient to remove them. I begin with the Witchcrafts of Elizabeth Style.

R E L A T I O N III.

The Witchcrafts of Elizabeth Style of Bayford, Widow.

THIS Elizabeth Style of Stoke Trister, in the County of Somerset, was accused by divers Persons of Credit, upon Oath, before Mr. Hunt, and particularly and largely confessed her Guilt herself; which was found by the Jury at her Tryal at Taunton; but she prevented Execution, by dying in Goal, a little before the expiring of the term her Confederate Demon had set for her enjoyment of Diabolical Pleasures in this Life. I have shortned the Examinations, and cast them into such an order, as I think fittest for the rendering the Matter clear and intelligible.

I. EXAM. *Rich. Hill*, of *Stoke Trister*, in the County of *Somerset*, Yeoman, being examined upon Oath, *Jan. 23, 1664*, before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices for that County, concerning the bewitching of his Daughter by *Eliz. Style*, declareth, That his Daughter *Elizabeth Hill*, about the Age of 13 Years, hath been for about two Months last past, taken with very strange Fits, which have held 2 or 3 Hours and more; and that

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in those Fits, the Child hath told her Father the Examinant and others, that one *Eliz. Style*, of the same Parish, appeared to her, and is the Person that torments her. She also in her Fits, usually tells what Cloaths *Eliz. Style* hath on at the time, which the Informant and others have seen and found true.

He saith farther, that about a Fortnight before *Christmas* last, he told *Style*, that his Daughter spoke much of her in her Fits, and did believe that she was bewitched by her. Whereupon *Francis White*, and *Walter*, and *Robert Thick* being present, willed her to complain to the Justice against him, for accusing of her. But she having used several Put-offs said, she would do worse than fetch a Warrant. After which, the Girl grew worse than before, and at the end of a Fit, she tells the Examinant when she shall have another, which happens accordingly, and affirms, that *Style* tells her when the next Fit shall come. He informs farther, That *Monday* Night after *Christmas-day*, about 9 of the Clock, and 4 or 5 times since, about the same Hour of the Night, his Daughter had been more tormented than formerly, and that though held in a Chair by four or five People, sometimes six, by the Arms, Legs, and Shoulders, she would rise out of her Chair, and raise her Body about three or four Foot high. And that after, in her Fits, she would have Holes made in her Hand, Wrist, Face, Neck, and other parts of her Body, which the Informant, and others that saw them, conceived to be with Thorns; for they saw Thorns in her Flesh, and some they hooked out. That upon the Child's pointing with her Finger from place to place, the Thorns and Holes immediately appeared to the Informant and others looking on. And as soon as the Child can speak after the Fit, she saith, that Widow *Style* did prick her with Thorns in those several places, which was horrible Torment, and she seemed to the Informant and others standing by, to be in extream Pain and Torture. The Child hath been so tormented and pricked with thorns four several Nights, at which time the Informant and many other People have seen the Flesh rise up in little Bunches, in which Holes did appear. The Pricking held about a Quarter of an Hour at a time, during each of the four Fits, and the Informant hath seen the Child take out some of those Thorns.

THE same *Rich. Hill*, examined *Jan. 26, 1664*, informs, that when he rode from the Justice's House, with a Warrant to bring *Style* before him, his Horse on a sudden sat down on his Breech, and he could not after ride him, but as soon as he attempted to get up, his Horse would sit down and paw with his Fore-Feet. He saith farther, That since *Style* was examined before the Justice, and made her Confession to him, she hath acknowledged to the Informant, that she had hurt his Daughter, and that one *Ann Bishop*, and *Alice Duke*, did join in bewitching her.

Taken upon Oath, before me,

Rob. Hunt.

2. EXAM. *William Parsons*, Rector of *Stoke Trister*, in the County of *Somerset*, examined the 26. of *Jan. 1664*. before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; concerning the bewitching of *Rich. Hill's* Daughter, saith, That on *Monday Night* after *Christmas-day*, then last past, he came into the Room when *Eliz. Hill* was in her Fit, many of his Parishioners being present, and looking on. He there saw the Child held in a Chair by main force by the People, plunging far beyond the strength of Nature, foaming and catching at her own Arms and Cloaths with her Teeth. This Fit he conceives held about half an Hour. After some time, she pointed with her Finger to the Left-side of her Head, next to her Left-Arm, and then to her Left-Hand, &c. and where she pointed, he perceived a red spot to arise, with a small black in the midst of it, like a small Thorn. She pointed also to her Toes one after another, and express'd great sense of Torment. This latter Fit, he guesses, continued about a quarter of an Hour, during most, or all of which time, her Stomach seem'd to swell, and her Head where she seem'd to be prick'd, did so very much. She sate foaming much of the time, and the next Day after her Fit, she shew'd the Examinant the places where the Thorns were stuck in, and he saw the Thorns in those places.

Taken upon Oath, before me,

Rob. Hunt.

Subscribed,

William Parsons, Rector of *Stoke Trister*.

3. EXAM.

3. EXAM. *Nicholas Lambert*, of *Bayford*, in the County of *Somerset*, Yeoman, examined upon Oath, before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; *Jan. 30. 1664*, concerning the bewitching of *Rich. Hill's* Daughter, by *Elizabeth Style*, testifieth, That *Monday* after *Christmas-day* last, being with others in the House of *Rich. Hill*, he saw his Daughter *Elizabeth* taken very ill, and in Fits that were so strong, that six Men could not hold her down in a Chair in which she was fate, but that she would raise the Chair up in spite of their utmost Force. That in her Fits being not able to speak, she would wrest her Body as one in great Torment, and point with her Finger to her Neck, Head, Hands, Wrists, Arms, and Toes. And he, with the rest, looking on the places to which she pointed, saw on the sudden, little red spots arise with little black ones in the midst, as if Thorns were stuck in them, but the Child then only pointed without touching her Flesh with her Finger.

Taken upon Oath, before me,

Rob. Hunt.

4. EXAM. *Richard Vining*, of *Stoke Trister*, Butcher, examined *Jan. 26, 1664*, before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; concerning the bewitching of his Wife by *Eliz. Style*, saith, That about 2 or 3 Days before *St. James's Day*, 3 Years since, or thereabout, his late Wife *Agnes* fell out with *Eliz. Style*, and within 2 or 3 Days after, she was taken with a grievous pricking in her Thigh, which pain continued for a long time, till after some Physick taken from one *Hallet*, she was at some Ease for 3 or 4 Weeks. About the *Christmas* after the mentioned *St. James's Day*, *Style* came to the Examinant's House, and gave *Agnes* his Wife two Apples, one of them was a very fair red Apple, which *Style* desired her to eat, which she did, and in a few Hours was taken ill, and worse than ever she had been before. Upon this, the Examinant went to one *Mr. Compton*, who lived in the Parish of *Ditch Fate*, (the same Person that shewed my Friend his Wife in a Glass, as I have related in the Story of *Mr. Mompef-*

son) for Physick for his Wife. *Compton* told him he could do her no good, for that she was hurt by a near Neighbour, who would come into his House, and up into the Chamber where his Wife was, but would go out again without speaking. After *Vining* came home, being in the Chamber with his Wife, *Style* came up to them, but went out again without speaking a word. *Agnes* his Wife continued in great pain till *Easter-Eve* following, and then she dyed. Before her Death her Hip rotted, and one of her Eyes swell'd out: She declared to him then, and at several times before, that she believed *Eliz. Style* had bewitched her, and that she was the cause of her Death.

Taken upon Oath, before me,

Rob. Hunt.

WHILST the Justice was examining *Style* at *Wincaunton*, (which is not above a Mile and a half from *Stoke Trister*) upon the former Evidence against her; he observed that *Rich. Vining* look'd very earnestly upon him; whereupon he ask'd *Vining* if he had any thing to say unto him: He answered, That *Style* had bewitched his Wife, and told the manner how, as is in his Deposition related. The Woman *Style* upon this, seemed appaied and concerned, and the Justice saying to her, *You have been an old sinner, &c. You deserve little Mercy*: She replied, *I have ask'd God Mercy for it*. Mr. *Hunt* ask'd her, Why then she would continue in such ill Courses? She said, The Devil tempted her; and then began to make some Confession of his actings with her: Upon this, the Justice sent her to the Constable's House at *Bayford*, which is in the Parish of *Stoke Trister*, (the Constable was one Mr. *Gapper*) and the next Morning went thither himself, accompanied with two Persons of Quality, Mr. *Bull*, and Mr. *Court*, now Justices of the Peace in this County.

Now before I proceed farther in the Story, I shall take notice, that here are Three credible Witnesses swearing to the same particulars, in that the Child *Elizabeth Hill*, was sometimes in strange Fits, in which her strength was encreased beyond the proportion of Nature, and the force

of

of divers Men: That then she pointed to the Parts of her Body, where they saw red spots arising, and black specks in the midst of them, that she complain'd that she was prick'd with Thorns, and two of them saw Thorns in the place of which she complained. Some of which Thorns, one swears that he and others saw hooked out, and that the Girl herself pulled out others: That in her Fits she declared *Style* appears to her (as *Jane Brooks* did to *Richard Jones*, in the former Relation) and tells her when she shall have another Fit, which happens accordingly: That she describes the Cloaths the Woman hath on, exactly as they find. But notwithstanding, all this shall be Melancholy and Fancy, or Legerdemain, or natural Distemper, or any thing but Witchcraft; or the Fact shall be denied, and the 3 Witnesses perjured, though this confidence against the Oaths of sober Men, tend to the overthrow of all testimony and History and the rendering all Law useles. I shall therefore proceed to farther Proof, and such as will abundantly strengthen this. It is the Confession of *Style* herself.

I left Mr. *Hunt*, and the other two Gentlemen at the Constable's House, where *Style* was, upon business of farther Examination, where she enlarg'd upon the Confession she had before begun to make, and declared the whole matter at that and two other times after, in the particulars that follow.

5. EXAM. *Elizabeth Style* her confession of her Witchcrafts, Jan. 26, and 30, and Feb. 7, 1664, before Rob. *Hunt*, Esq; She then confessed, That the Devil about 10 Years since, appeared to her in the shape of a handsome Man, and after of a black Dog; that he promised her Money, and that she should live gallantly, and have the Pleasure of the World for 12 Years, if she would with her Blood sign his Paper, which was to give her Soul to him, and observe his Laws, and that he might suck her Blood. This after four Sollicitations, the Examinant promised to do; upon which, he prick'd the fourth Finger of her Right-hand, between the middle and upper Joint, (where the sign at the Examination remained) and with a Drop or two of her Blood, she signed the Paper with an [O.] Upon this, the Devil gave her Sixpence, and vanish'd with the Paper.

THAT since he hath appeared to her in the shape of a Man, and did so on *Wednesday* Seven-night past, but more usually he appears in the likeness of a Dog, and Cat, and a Fly like a Millar, in which last he usually sucks in the Poll about four of the Clock in the Morning, and did so *Jan. 27*, and that it usually is pain to her to be so suck'd.

THAT when she hath a desire to do harm, she calls the Spirit by the Name of *Robin*, to whom when he appeareth, she useth these words, *O Satan give me my purpose!* She then tells him what she would have done. And that he should so appear to her, was part of her Contract with him.

THAT about a Month ago he appearing, she desired him to torment one *Elizabeth Hill*, and to thrust Thorns into her Flesh, which he promised to do, and the next time he appeared, he told her he had done it.

THAT a little above a Month since this Examinant, *Alice Duke*, *Ann Bishop*, and *Mary Penny*, met about 9 of the Clock in the Night, in the Common near *Trister Gate*, where they met a Man in black Cloaths, with a little Band, to whom they did Courtesy and due Observance, and the Examinant verily belives that this was the Devil. At that time *Alice Duke* brought a Picture in Wax, which was for *Elizabeth Hill*. The Man in black took it in his Arms, anointed its Fore-head, and said, *I baptize thee with this Oyl*, and used some other Words. He was God-father, and the Examinant and *Ann Bishop* God-mothers. They called it *Elizabeth* or *Bess*. Then the Man in black, this Examinant, *Ann Bishop*, and *Alice Duke* stuck Thorns into several places of the Neck, Hand-Wrists, Fingers, and other Parts of the said Picture. After which they had Wine, Cakes, and Roast-meat, (all brought by the Man in black) which they did eat and drink. They danced and were merry, were bodily there and in their Cloaths.

SHE farther saith, that the same persons met again, at or near the same place about a Month since, when *Ann Bishop* brought a Picture in Wax, which was baptized *John*, in like manner as the other was, the Man in black was God-father, and *Alice Duke*, and this Examinant God-mothers. As soon as it was baptized, *Ann Bishop* stuck two Thorns into the Arms of the Picture, which was for one *Robert Newman's* Child of *Wincaunton*. After they

they had eaten, drank, danced, and made merry, they departed.

THAT she with *Ann Bishop*, and *Alice Duke* met at another time in the Night, in a ground near *Marnbull*, where also met several other persons. The Devil then also there in the former shape, baptized a Picture by the name of *Ann* or *Rachel Hatcher*. The Picture one *Dunfords's* Wife brought, and stuck Thorns in it. Then they also made merry with Wine and Cakes, and so departed.

SHE saith, before they are carried to their meetings, they anoint their Fore-heads, and Hand-Wrists with an Oyl the Spirit brings them, which smells raw, and then they are carried in a very short time, using these words as they pass, *Thout, tout, a tout, tout, throughout and about*. And when they go off from their Meetings, they say *Rentum Tormentum*.

THAT at their first meeting, the Man in black bids them welcome, and they all make low obeysance to him, and he delivers some Wax Candles like little Torches, which they give back again at parting. When they anoint themselves, they use a long form of words, and when they stick in Thorns into the Picture of any they would torment, they say *A Pox on thee, I'll spite thee*.

THAT at every meeting before the Spirit vanisheth away, he appoints the next meeting place and time, and at his departure there is a foul smell. At their meeting they have usually Wine or good Beer, Cakes, Meat, or the like. They eat and drink really when they meet in their bodies, dance also and have Musick. The Man in black sits at the higher end, and *Ann Bishop* usually next him. He useth some words before meat, and none after; his voice is audible, but very low.

THAT they are carried sometimes in their Bodies and their Cloaths, sometimes without, and as the Examinant thinks their Bodies are sometimes left behind. When only their Spirits are present, yet they know one another.

WHEN they would bewitch Man, Woman or Child, they do it sometimes by a Picture made in Wax, which the Devil formally baptizeth. Sometimes they have an *Apple, Dish, Spoon*, or other thing from their evil Spirit, which they give to the party to whom they would do harm. Upon which they have power to hurt the person that eats or receives it. Sometimes they have power to do mischief

chief by a touch or curse, by these they can mischief Cattle, and by cursing without touching; but neither without the Devil's leave.

THAT she hath been at several general meetings in the night at High Common, and a Common near *Matcomb*, at a place near *Marnbull*, and at other places, where have met *John Combes*, *John Vining*, *Richard Dikes*, *Thomas Boster* or *Bolster*, *Thomas Dunning*, *James Bush* a lame Man, *Rachel King*, *Richard Lannen*, a Woman called *Dunford*, *Alice Duke*, *Ann Bishop*, *Mary Penny* and *Christopher Ellen*, all which did obeysance to the Man in black, who was at every one of their meetings. Usually they have at them some Picture baptized.

THE Man in black, sometimes plays on a Pipe or Cittern, and the Company dance. At last the Devil vanisheth, and all are carried to their several homes in a short space. At their parting they say [*A Boy! merry meet, merry part.*]

THAT the reason why she caused *Elizabeth Hill* to be the more tormented was, because her Father had said, she was a Witch. That she has seen *Alice Duke's* Familiar suck her, in the shape of a Cat, and *Ann Bishop's* suck her in the shape of a Rat.

THAT she never heard the name of God or Jesus Christ mentioned at any of their meetings.

THAT *Ann Bishop*, about five years and a half since, did bring a Picture in Wax to their meeting, which was baptized by the Man in black, and called *Peter*. It was for *Robert Newman's* Child at *Wincaunton*.

THAT some two years ago, she gave two Apples to *Agnes Vining*, late Wife of *Richard Vining*, and that she had one of the Apples from the Devil, who then appeared to her and told, *That Apple would do Vining's Wife's business.*

Taken in the presence of several Grave
and Orthodox Divines before me,

Robert Hunt.

6. EXAM. *William Parsons* Rector of *Stoke Trister*, examined Feb. 7. 1664, before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; concerning *Elizabeth Style*'s confession, saith, That he heard *Style* before the Justice of Peace, at the time of her Examination confess, as she hath done also to the Examinant several times since, that she was in Covenant with the Devil, that she had signed it with her Blood, that she had been with the Devil at several meetings in the night, that at one time of those meetings, there was brought a Picture in blackish Wax, which the Devil in the shape of a Man in blackish Cloaths, did baptize by the name of *Eliz. Hill*, that she did stick in one Thorn into the Hand-Wrists of the Picture, that *Alice Duke* stuck Thorns into the same, and that *Ann Bishop* and *Mary Penny* were present at that meeting with the Devil.

Taken upon Oath, before me,

Robert Hunt.

Subscribed,

William Parsons Rector of *Stoke Trister*.

THIS Confession of *Style*'s was free and unforced, without any torturing or watching drawn from her by a gentle Examination, meeting with the Convictions of a guilty Conscience. She confesseth that she desired the Devil to torment *Eliz. Hill*, by thrusting Thorns into her Flesh, which he promised, and said he had done it. That a Picture was baptized for her the said *Elizabeth*, and that she, the Familiar and *Alice Duke* stuck Thorns into several places of the Neck, Hand-Wrists, Fingers and other parts thereof, which exactly agrees with the strange Effects related, concerning the torments the Child suffer'd, and this mischief she confesseth she did, because her Father said she was a Witch. She confessed she gave two Apples to *Vining*'s Wife, one of which she had from the Devil, who said it would do the business, which suits also with the Testimony of *Vining* concerning his Wife.

SHE confesseth farther, That the Devil useth to suck her in the Poll, about four a Clock in the Morning, in the form of a Fly like a Millar, concerning which, let us hear
Testimony

Testimony (the other particulars of her Confession we shall consider as occasion offers.)

7. EXAM. *Nicholas Lambert*, examined again Jan. 26, 1664, before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; concerning what happened after *Style's* confession, testifieth, That *Eliz. Style* having been examined before the Justice, made her Confession, and committed to the Officer, the Justice required this Examinant, *William Thick* and *William Read* of *Bayford* to watch her, which they did; and this Informant sitting near *Style* by the Fire, and reading in the *Practice of Piety*, about Three of the Clock in the Morning there came from her Head a glistering bright Fly, about an Inch in length, which pitched at first in the Chimney, and then vanished. In less than a quarter of an hour after, there appeared two Flies more of a less size, and another colour which seemed to strike at the Examinant's hand, in which he held his Book, but missed it, the one going over, the other going under at the same time. He looking stedfastly then on *Style*, perceived her countenance to change, and to become very black and gasty, the Fire also at the same time changing its colour; whereupon the Examinant, *Thick* and *Read* conceiving that her familiar was then about her, looked to her Poll, and seeing her Hair shake very strangely, took it up, and then a Fly like a great Millar flew out from the place, and pitched on the Table board, and then vanished away. Upon this the Examinant, and the other two persons looking again in *Style's* Poll, found it very red and like raw Beef. The Examinant ask'd her what it was that went out of her Poll, she said it was a Butterfly, and ask'd them why they had not caught it. *Lambert* said, they could not, I think so too, answered she. A little while after, the Informant and the others looking again into her Poll, found the place to be of its former colour. The Examinant demanded again what the Fly was, she confessed it was her Familiar, and that she felt it tickle in her Poll, and that was the usual time when her Familiar came to her.

Taken upon Oath, before me,

Robert Hunt.

8. EXAM. *Eliz. Torwood* of *Bayford*, examined Feb. 7, 1664, before *Robert Hunt*, Esq; concerning the Mark found

found about *Eliz. Style* after her confession, deposeth, That she together with *Catherine White, Mary Day, Mary Bolster*, and *Bridget Prankard*, did a little after *Christmas* last, search *Eliz. Style*, and that in her Poll they found a little rising which felt hard like a Kernel of Beef, whereupon they suspecting it to be an ill mark, thrust a Pin into it, and having drawn it out, thrust it in again the second time, leaving it sticking in the flesh for some time, that the other Women might also see it. Notwithstanding which *Style* did neither at the first or second time make the least shew that she felt any thing. But after, when the Constable told her he would thrust in a Pin to the place, and made a shew as if he did, O Lord, said she, do you prick me? whenas no one then touched her.

THE Examinant farther saith, that *Style* hath since confessed to her, that her Familiar did use to suck her in the place mentioned, in the shape of a great Millar or Butterfly.

CATHERINE WHITE, *Mary Day, Mary Bolster*, and *Bridget Prankard* do say, that the abovesaid Examination of *Eliz. Torwood* is truth.

Taken upon Oath, before me,

Rob. Hunt.

RELATION IV.

The Examination and Confession of Alice Duke, alias Manning (another Witch of Style's Knot) of Wincaunton, in the County of Somerset, Widow, taken Jan. 27, and Feb. 2, 7, 10, 21. An. 1664. before Robert Hunt, Esq;

THE Examinant saith, That when she lived with *Ann Bishop* of *Wincaunton*, about Eleven or Twelve years ago, *Ann Bishop* perswaded her to go with her into the Church-yard in the night-time, and being come thither, to go backward round the Church, which they did three times. In their first round, they met a Man in black Cloaths, who went round a second time with them, and then they met a thing in the shape of a great black Toad, which leap'd up against the Examinant's

minant's Apron. In their third round they met somewhat in the shape of a Rat, which vanished away. After this the Examinant and *Ann Bishop* went home, but before *Ann Bishop* went off, the Man in black said somewhat to her softly, which the Informant could not hear.

A few days after, *Ann Bishop* speaking about their going round the Church, told the Examinant, that now she might have her desire, and what she would wish for. And shortly after, the Devil appeared to her in the shape of a Man, promising that she should want nothing, and that if she cursed any thing with *A Pox take it*, she should have her purpose, in case she would give her Soul to him, suffer him to suck her Blood, keep his Secrets, and be his instrument to do such mischief as he would set her about. All which, upon his second appearing to her, she yielded to, and the Devil having pricked the fourth finger of her right-hand between the middle and upper joint (where the mark is yet to be seen) gave her a Pen, with which she made a cross or mark with her Blood on Paper or Parchment, that the Devil offered her for the confirmation of the Agreement, which was done in the presence of *Ann Bishop*. And as soon as the Examinant had signed it, the Devil gave her Sixpence, and went away with the Paper or Parchment.

FURTHER she confesseth, That she hath been at several meetings in *Lie Common*, and other places in the night, and that her Fore-head being first anointed with a Feather dipp'd in Oyl, she hath been suddenly carried to the place of their meeting. That about five or six Weeks since (or more) she met in the said Common in the night, where were present *Ann Bishop*, *Mary Penny* of *Wincaunton*, *Elizabeth Style* of *Bayford*, and a Man in black Cloaths with a little Band, whom she supposeth to have been the Devil. At the meeting there was a Picture in Wax, which the Man in black took in his Arms, and having anointed its Fore-head with a little greenish Oyl, and using a few words, baptized it by the name of *Elizabeth* or *Bess Hill*, for the Daughter of *Richard Hill*. Then the Devil, this Examinant, *Ann Bishop*, and *Elizabeth Style* stuck Thorns in the Neck, Head, Hand-wrists, Fingers and other parts of the Picture, saying, *A Pox on thee, I will spite thee*. This done, all sat down, a white Cloth being spread on the ground, and did drink Wine, and eat

Cakes

Cakes and Meat. After all was ended, the Man in black vanished, leaving an ugly smell at parting. The rest were on a sudden conveyed to their homes.

ON *Monday Night* after *Christmas-day* last, she met the same Company again, near about the same Place, and then *Ann Bishop* (who was there in a green Apron, a *French* Waistcoat, and a red Petticoat) brought in her Apron a Picture in blackish Wax, which the Devil baptized as before, by the Name of *John Newman*, for the Son of *Rob. Newman* of *Wincaunton*, and then the Devil first, after *Ann Bishop* and this Examinant thrust Thorns into the Picture, *Ann Bishop* sticking in two Thorns into the Arms of it. The Picture *Ann Bishop* carried away with her. They were all there present in their Cloaths, and the Devil in the Shape of a Man in black.

ABOUT 5 Years and a half since, the same Persons were at the baptizing of another Image, by the Name of *Peter Newman*, another Son of *Robert Newman*, both which are since dead, and then *Ann Bishop* desired the Examinant to joyn with her in bewitching of *Peter* and *John Newman*.

AT another time she was carried to a Meeting in the Night, to a green Place near *Marnbull* as she was then told, where were present *Ann Bishop*, *Elizabeth Style*, *Mary Penny*, and some unknown to her. Then also an image in Wax was baptized by the Devil, in the fore-related manner, by the Name of *Ann* or *Rachel Hatcher*, one of *Marnbull*, as she was then informed. After the Ceremony was ended, they had Wine, Cakes, &c.

SHE likewise confesseth, That she was at another such Meeting, where 12 Persons were present, many of whom were unknown to her, but she took notice of one lame Man in blackish Hair among them, and of the Devil as before.

SHE saith, That after their Meetings, they all make very low Obeyfances to the Devil, who appears in black Cloaths, and a little Band. He bids them Welcome at their coming, and brings Wine or Beer, Cakes, Meat, or the like. He sits at the higher end, and usually *Ann Bishop* sits next him. They Eat, Drink, Dance and have Musick. At their parting they use to say, *Merry meet, merry part*; and that before they are carried to their Meetings their Fore heads

Fore-heads are anointed with greenish Oyl that they have from the Spirit, which smells raw. They for the most part are carried in the Air. As they pass they say, *Thout, tout, a tout, tout, throughout and about*. Passing back they say, *Rentum Tormentum*, and another Word which she doth not remember.

SHE confesseth, That her Familiar doth commonly suck her Right-breast about 7 at Night, in the Shape of a little Cat of a dunnish Colour, which is as smooth as a Want, and when she is suck'd she is in a kind of a Trance.

THAT she hurt *Thomas Garret's* Cows, because he refused to write a Petition for her.

THAT she hurt *Thomas Conway*, by putting a Dish into his Hand, which Dish she had from the Devil, she gave it him to give his Daughter for good Handsel.

THAT she hurt *Dorothy* the Wife of *George Vining*, by giving an Iron slate to put into her Steeling-box.

THAT being angry with *Edith Watts*, the Daughter of *Edmond Watts*, for treading on her Foot, she cursed *Edith* with a *Pox on you*, and after touched her, which hath done the said *Edith* much harm, for which she is sorry.

THAT being provoked by *Swanton's* first Wife, she did before her Death curse her, with a *Pox on you*, believes she did thereby hurt her, but denies she did bewitch Mr. *Swanton's* Cattle.

SHE saith, That when the Devil doth any thing for her, she calls for him by the Name of *Robin*, upon which he appears, and when in the Shape of a Man, she can hear him speak, but his Voice is very low. He promised her, when she made her Contract with him, that she should want nothing, but ever since she hath wanted all things.

Taken before me,

Rob. Hunt.

I. EXAM. *Thomas Conway* of *Wincaunton* in the County of *Somerset*, examined Feb. 12. 1664, before *Robert Hunt*, Esquire, concerning *Alice Duke*, informeth, That about 12 Months since *Alice Duke*, alias *Manning*, brought a little Pewter Dish to this Informant, and told him that it was good Handsel for his Daughter. The Examinant

willed

willed the said *Alice* to carry it to her, she being within by the Fire, but she forc'd the Dish into his Hand, and went away; shortly after he was taken extremely ill in all his Limbs, of which Illness the Physicians whom he applied himself to, could give no account. When she went from him, she was very angry, and muttered much, because he would not sign a Petition on her behalf. She hath confessed to him since, that she had the Dish from the Devil, and gave it to him on purpose to hurt him. He hath been, and is since, in great torment, and much weakened and wasted in his Body, which he imputes to the evil Practices of *Alice Duke*.

Taken upon Oath, before me,

Rob. Hunt.

2. EXAM. *Mary* the Wife of *Tho. Conway*, examined March 6, 1664, before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; concerning *Alice Duke*, saith, That her Husband *Tho. Conway*, about a Year ago, delivered her a little Pewter dish, telling her he had it from *Alice Duke*, for good Handsel for his Daughter, who had lately lain in. In this Dish she warmed a little Deer-suet and Rose-water, anointing her Daughter's Nipples with it, which put her to extreme pain; upon which, suspecting harm from the dish, she put it into the Fire, which then presently vanish'd, and nothing of it could afterwards be found. After, when she anointed her Daughter's Nipples with the same Deer-suet and Rose-water, warmed in a spoon, she complained not of any pain: She farther saith, That her Husband after he had received the Dish from the Hands of *Alice Duke*, was taken ill in all his Limbs, and held for a long time in a very strange manner.

Taken upon Oath, before me,

Rob. Hunt.

3. EXAM. *Edward Watts* of *Wincaunton*, in the County of *Somerset*, examined Mar. 6, 1664, before *Robert Hunt*, Esq; concerning *Alice Duke*, saith, That he hath a Child called *Edith*, about 10 Years of Age, who for the space of half a Year hath languished and pined away, and that she told him, that treading one Day on the Toe of

Alice Duke, she in great Anger cursed her with *A Pox on thee*, and that from that time the Child began to be ill and to pine away, which she hath done ever since.

Taken upon Oath, before me,

Rob. Hunt.

N. B. *Besides the plain Agreement betwixt the Witnesses, and the Witches own Confession, it may be worth the taking notice here, how well her Confession of having her Familiar suck her in the shape of a Cat, agrees with Eliz. Style's Confession, that she had seen Alice Duke's Familiar suck her in that Shape. As also how the bewitching of Edward Watts's Child by Alice Duke her saying, A Pox on her, agrees with the Promise of the Devil to her, which is expressly, That if she cursed any thing with a Pox take it, she should have her purpose. She also testifying of the baptizing the Image of Eliz. Hill, and of those Forms of Words, Thout, tout a tout, and Rentum Tormentum at their going to their Meetings and departing, plainly shews these are not transacted in Dreams, but in reality. The Devil also as in other Stories leaving an ill Smell behind him, seems to imply the reality of the business, those ascititious Particles he held together in his visible Vehicle, being loosened at his vanishing, and so offending the Nostrils by their floating and diffusing themselves in the open Air.*

R E L A T I O N V.

The Examination and Confession of Christian Green, aged about Thirty three Years, Wife of Robert Green of Brewham, in the County of Somerset, taken before Robert Hunt, Esq; March 2, 1664.

THIS Examinant saith, That about a Year and a half since, (she being in great Poverty) one *Catherine Green* of *Brewham*, told her, that if she would, she might be in a better Condition, and then persuaded her to make a Covenant with the Devil. Being afterwards together in one *Mr. Hussy's* ground in *Brewham* Forest about Noon, *Catherine* called for the Devil, who appeared in the shape of a Man in blackish Cloaths, and said somewhat to *Catherine*, which *Christian* could not

not hear. After which the Devil (as she conceiv'd him) told the Examinant, that she should want neither Cloaths, Victuals, nor Money, if she would give her Body and Soul to him, keep his Secrets, and suffer him to suck her once in 24 Hours; which at last, upon his and *Catherine Green's* persuation, she yielded to; then the Man in black prick'd the fourth Finger of her Right-hand, between the middle and upper Joints, where the signs yet remains, and took two drops of her Blood on his Finger, giving her Four-pence-half-penny, with which she bought Bread in *Brewham*. Then he spake again in private with *Catherine* and vanish'd leaving a smell of Brimstone behind.

SINCE that time the Devil (she saith) hath and doth usually suck her left Breast about five of the Clock in the Morning, in the likeness of an *Hedge-hog*, bending, and did so on *Wednesday* Morning last: She saith it is painful to her, and that she is usually in a Trance when she is suck'd.

SHE saith also, That *Catherine Green*, and *Margaret Agar* of *Brewham*, have told her, that they are in Covenant with the Devil, and confesseth, that she hath been at several Meetings in the Night at *Brewham* Common, and in a Ground of Mr. *Hussey's*; that she hath there met with *Catherine Green*, and *Margaret Agar*, and 3 or 4 times with *Mary Warberton* of *Brewham*: That in all those Meetings, the Devil hath been present, in the shape of a Man in black Cloaths: At the first coming, he bids them welcome, but always speaks very low.

THAT at a Meeting about 3 Weeks or a Month since, at or near the former Place, *Margaret Agar* brought thither an Image in Wax, for *Elizabeth* the Wife of *Andrew Cornish* of *Brewham*, and the Devil, in the shape of a Man in black Cloaths, did baptize it, and after stuck a Thorn into its Head; that *Agar* stuck one into its Stomach, and *Catherine Green* one into its Side. She farther saith; That before this time, *Agar* said to her this Examinant, that she would hurt *Elizabeth Cornish*, who since the baptizing of the Picture, hath been taken and continues very ill.

SHE saith, That 3 or 4 Days before *Jos. Talbot* of *Brewham* died, *Margaret Agar* told her, that she wou'd rid him out of the World, because he being Overseer of the Poor, he made her Children go to Service, and refused

to give them such good Cloaths as she desired. And since the Death of *Talbot*, she confessed to the Examinant, that she had bewitch'd him to Death. He died about a Year since; was taken ill on *Friday*, and died about *Wednesday* after.

THAT her Mother-in-law, *Catherine Green*, about 5 or 6 Years ago, was taken in a strange manner: One Day one Eye and Cheek did swell, another Day another, and so she continued in great Pain till she died: Upon her Death, she several times said, in the hearing of the Examinant, that her Sister-in-law, *Catherine Green*, had bewitched her, and the Examinant believes that she bewitch'd her to Death.

THAT a little before *Michaelmas* last, the said *Catherine* cursed the Horses of *Rob. Walter*, of *Brewham*, saying, *A Murrain on them Horses to Death*; upon which the Horses, being 3, all died.

Taken before me,

Rob. Hunt.

RELATION VI.

Farther Testimonies of the villainous Feats of that rampant Hag Margaret Agar, of Brewham in the County of Somerset.

1. EXAM. E *Lizabeth Talbot* of *Brewham*, examined *March 7, 1664*, before *Robert Hunt*, Esq; saith, that about 3 Weeks before her Father *Jos. Talbot* died, *Margaret Agar* fell out with him, because he being Overseer for the Poor, did require *Agar's* Daughter to go to service, and said to him, that he was proud of his Living, but swore by the Blood of the Lord, that he should not long enjoy it. Within 3 Weeks of which, he was suddenly taken in his Body, as if he had been stabb'd with Daggers, and so continued four or five Days in great pain, and then died.

Rob. Hunt.

2. EXAM. *Jos. Smith* of *Brewham*, Husbandman, examined *March 15, 1664*, before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; saith, that some few days before *Jos. Talbot* died, he heard *Margaret Agar* rail very much at him, because he had caused

fed her Daughter to go to service, and said, that he should not keep his Living, but be drawn out upon four Men's Shoulders: That she should tread upon his Jaws, and see the Grass grow over his Head, which she swore by the Blood of the Lord.

Taken upon Oath, before me,

Rob. Hunt.

3. EXAM. *Mary* the Wife of *William Smith* of *Brewham*, examined *March 8, 1664*, before *Rob. Hunt, Esq;* saith, That about two Years since, *Margaret Agar* came to her, and called her Whore, adding, *A Plague take you for an old Whore, I shall live, to see thee rot on the Earth before I die, and thy Cows shall fall and die at my feet.* A short time after which, she had 3 Cows that died very strangely, and 2 of them at the Door of *Margaret Agar*. And ever since the Examinant hath consumed and pined away, her Body and her Bowels rotting, and she verily believes that her Cattle and herself were bewitched by *Agar*.

Taken upon Oath, before me,

Rob. Hunt.

4. EXAM. *Catherine Green*, alias *Cornish*, of *Brewham*, Widow, examin'd *May 16, 1665*, before *Rob. Hunt, Esq;* saith, That on *Friday* in the Evening, in the beginning of *March* last, *Margaret Agar* came to her, and was earnest she should go with her to a Ground called *Hussey's-knap*, which she did, and being come thither, they saw a little Man in black Cloaths, with a little band. As soon as they came to him, *Margaret Agar* took out of her Lap a little Picture in blackish Wax, which she delivered to the Man in black, who stuck a Thorn into the Crown of the Picture, and then delivered it back to *Agar*; upon which she stuck a Thorn towards the Heart of the Picture, cursing, and saying, *A Plague on you*; which she told the Examinant was done to hurt *Eliz. Cornish*, who as she hath been told, has been very ill ever since that time.

THAT a little above a Year since *Jos. Talbot*, late of *Brewham*, being Overseer for the Poor, did cause two of *Agar's* Children to go to Service; upon which she was very angry, and said in the Examinant's hearing,

a few Days before he fell sick and died, that she had trod upon the Jaws of 3 of her Enemies, and that she should shortly see *Talbot* rot, and tread on his Jaws. And when this Examinant desired her not to hurt *Talbot*, she swore by the Blood of the Lord, she would confound him if she could. The Day before he died, she said to the Examinant, *God's wounds, I'll go and see him, for I shall never see him more*; and the next Day *Talbot* died.

THAT she heard *Margaret Agar* curse *Mary Smith*, and say, she should live to see her and her Cattle fall and rot before her Face.

Taken upon Oath, before me,

Rob. Hunt.

5. EXAM. *Mary Green* of *Brewham*, single Woman, examined, *June 3, 1665*, before *Rob. Hunt, Esq*; saith, That about a Month before *Jos. Talbot*, late of *Brewham*, died, *Margaret Agar* fell out with him about the putting out of her Child to Service. After that she saw a Picture in Clay or Wax, in the Hands of *Agar*, which she said was for *Talbot*, the Picture she saw her deliver in *Redmore*, to the Fiend in the Shape of a Man in black, about an Hour in the Night, who stuck a Thorn in or near the Heart of it; *Agar* stuck another in the Breast, and *Catherine Green*, *Alice Green*, *Mary Warberton*, *Henry Walter*, and *Christian Green*, all of *Brewham*, were then and there present, and did all stick Thorns into the Picture.

AT that time *Catherine Green* spake to *Agar* not to hurt *Talbot*, because she received somewhat from him oftentimes, but *Agar* replied, by the Lord's Blood she would confound him, or words to that purpose.

THAT a little before *Talbot* was taken sick, *Agar* being in the House where the Examinant lived, swore, That she should e'er long tread upon his Jaws; and that if *Talbot* made her Daughter to go to Service for a Year, yet if she came home in a quarter, it would be time enough to see him carried out upon four Men's Shoulders, and to tread upon his Jaws.

THAT on the Day *Talbot* died, she heard *Agar* swear, That she had now plagued *Talbot*; and that being in company with her some time before, and seeing a dead Horse of *Talbot's* drawn along by another of his Horses, she

she swore, That that Horse should be also drawn out to Morrow, and the next Day she saw the well Horse also drawn out dead.

THAT above a Month before *Margaret Agar* was sent to Goal, she saw her, *Henry Walter, Catherine Green, Joan Syms, Christian Green, Mary Warberton*, and others, meet at a place called *Hussey's-knap* in the Forest, in the Night-time, where met them the Fiend, in the Shape of a little Man in black Cloaths, with a little band, to him all made Obeysances, and at that time a Picture in Wax or Clay was deliver'd by *Agar* to the Man in black, who stuck a Thorn into the Crown of it, *Margaret Agar* one towards the Breast, *Catherine Green* in the Side; after which *Agar* threw down the Picture, and said, *There is Cornish's Picture with a Murrain to it, or Plague on it.* And that at both the Meetings there was a noisome smell of Brimstone.

THAT about two Years since, in the Night, there met in the same Place, *Agar, Henry Walter, Catherine Green, Joan Syms, Alice Green, and Mary Warberton.* Then also *Margaret Agar* delivered to the little Man in black, a Picture in Wax, into which he and *Agar* stuck Thorns, and *Henry Walter* thrust his Thumb into the side of it; then they threw it down, and said, *There is Dick Green's Picture with a Pox in't*; a short time after which, *Richard Green* was taken ill and died.

FARTHER, she saith, That on *Thursday* Night before *Whitsunday* last, about the same place, met *Catherine Green, Alice Green, Joan Syms, Mary Warberton, Dinah and Dorothy Warberton, and Henry Walter,* and being met, they called out *Robin*, upon which instantly appeared a little Man in black Cloaths, to whom all made Obeysance, and the little Man put his Hand to his Hat, saying, *How do ye?* speaking low but big: Then all made low Obeysances to him again. That she hath seen *Margaret Clark* twice at the Meetings, but since *Margaret Agar* was sent to Prison, she never saw her there.

Taken before me,

Rob. Hunt.

N. B. Before we pass to other Relations, it will not be amiss farther to remark upon these taken out of the Examinations of Mr. Hunt: From the poisoned Apples that *Jane Brooks* gave to *Rich. Jones*, and *Eliz. Style* to *Ag-*

nes Vining, and the poisoned Pewter Dish that Alice Duke put into the Hands of Tho. Conway, (which Dish and Apples they had from the Devil) we may observe in what a peculiar Sense, Witches and Wizards are called *μαγιστοί*, Venefici, and Veneficæ, Poisoners. Not that they mischief People ordinarily by natural Poisons, as Arsenick and the like, but rather by some hellish Malignancy infused into things by the Art and Malice of the Devil, or by the steams of their own Body which the Devil sucks. For the Hand of Jane Brooks stroaking down Rich. Jones his side impressed a pain thereon.

WE may observe also what an eximious Example of Moses his Maccassephah, (the word which he uses in that Law, Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live) Margaret Agar is, and how unfitly some Interpreters render Maccassephim, Malefici, from the great Mischief they do and delight in, and what a great credit this Agar is to J. Webster and the rest of the Hag-Advocates, which would make them to be mere couzening Queans, or melancholy Fops that had nothing to do with the Devil. As if the Man in black and a little Band were but such another as J. Webster, or any other Hag-Advocate that in waggerie acted the part of the Devil in Hufsey's-knap, or any such like place of a Forest, and so after all, quickly and suddenly recoiling behind a Bush, and letting fly into the Wind, the deluded Hags took it for the vanishing of the very Fiend and his perfuming the Air with the smell of Brimstone. One that can resolve all the Feats of the Hartummim of Egypt into Tricks of Legerdemain, cannot be easily delude the Company with such a Feat as this, the old Wives being thick of hearing, and carrying their Spectacles not on their Noses, but in their Pockets.

AND lastly, from the Devil's covenanting with the Witches for their Souls, it may be observed, that the old Hags dealing bona fide, and thinking they have Souls surviving their Bodies, are better Philosophers than the huffy Wits of our Age, that deny distinction of Soul and Body. But if they have not (as these Huffers would have it) and the Hags think so themselves, it is a pretty Paradox, that these old Fops should be able to out-wit the very Devil; who does not in bartering for their Bodies and Souls buy a Pig in a Poke, as the Proverb is, but a Poke without a Pig. But I rather believe, that these buffing Wits, as
high

high as they are, may learn one true Point of Philosophy from these Hags and their Familiars; these evil Spirits certainly making their Bargains wisely enough in covenanting for the Witches Soul. Which clause, if it were not express'd, the Soul were free from the Familiar's jurisdiction after Death. Wherefore it is no contemptible Argument, these evil Spirits covenanting for the Soul of the Witch, that they know the Soul survives the Body, and therefore make their Bargain sure for the possession of it, as their Peculium after Death, otherwise if the Soul were mortal they would tell the Witches so, the more easily to precipitate them into all wickedness, and make them more eager by their ministry to enjoy this present Life. But this Doctrine is inconsistent with the Form of his Covenant, whereby they are assured to him after Death.

RELATION VII.

Touching Florence Newton, an Irish Witch of Youghal, taken out of her Tryal at the Assizes held for the County of Cork, September 11, Anno 1661.

THIS Florence Newton was committed to Youghal Prison, by the Mayor of the Town, March 24, 1661, for bewitching Mary Longdon, who gave Evidence against her at Cork Assizes, as follows.

Mary Longdon being sworn and examined what she could say against the said Florence Newton for any Practice of Witchcraft upon herself, and being bidden to look on the Prisoner, her Countenance chang'd pale, and she was very fearful to look towards her, but at last she did. And being ask'd whether she knew her, she said she did, and wish'd she never had. Being ask'd how long she had known her, she said for three or four Years; and that at Christmas last, the said Florence came to the Deponent, at the House of John Pyne in Youghal, where the Deponent was a Servant; and ask'd the Deponent to give her a piece of Beef out of the Powdering Tub; and the Deponent answering her, that she could not give away her Master's Beef, she said Florence seemed to be very angry, and said, *Tbou had'st as good have given it me, and so went away grumbling.*

THAT

THAT about a week after, the Deponent being going to the Water with a Pail of Cloth on her Head, she met the said *Florence Newton*, who came full in her Face, and threw the Pail off her Head, and violently kifs'd her, and said, *Mary, I pray thee, let thee and I be Friends; for I bear thee no ill Will, and I pray thee do thou bear me none*: And that she the Deponent went afterwards home, and that within a few Days after, she saw a Woman with a Vail over her Face, stand by her bed side, and one standing by her like a little old Man in Silk Cloaths, and that this Man which she took to be a Spirit, drew the Vail from off the Woman's Face, and then she knew it to be *Goody Newton*; and that the Spirit spake to the Deponent, and would have had her promise him to follow his Advice and she should have all things after her own Heart, to which she says, she answered, That she would have nothing to say to him, for her Trust was in the Lord.

THAT within a Month after the said *Florence* had kifs'd her, she this Deponent fell very ill of Fits or Trances, which would take her on the sudden, in that violence, that three or four Men could not held her; and in her Fits she would often be taken with Vomitings, and would vomit up Needles, Pins, Horse-nails, Stubbs, Wooll, and Straw, and that very often. And being ask'd whether she perceived at these times what she vomited? she said she did; for then she was not in so great distraction as in other parts of her Fits she was. And that a little before the first beginning of her Fits several (and very many) small stones would fall upon her as she went up and down, and would follow her from place to place, and from one Room to another, and would hit her on the head, shoulders, and arms, and fall to the ground and vanish away. And that she and several others would see them both fall upon her, and on the ground, but could never take them, save only some few, which she and her Master caught in their hands: Amongst which, one that had a hole in it she tied (as she was advised) with a leather Thong to her Purse, but it was vanish'd immediately, though the leather continued tied on a fast knot.

THAT in her Fits she often saw this *Florence Newton*, and cried out against her for tormenting of her, for she
says,

says, that she would several times stick Pins into her arms, and some of them so fast, that a Man must pluck three or four times to get out the Pin, and they were stuck betwixt the skin and the flesh. That sometimes she should be remov'd out of her Bed into another Room, sometimes she should be carried to the top of the House, laid on a board betwixt two Sollar Beams, sometimes put into a Chest, sometimes under a parcel of Wooll sometimes betwixt two Feather-beds on which she used to lie, and sometimes betwixt the Bed and the Mat in her Master's Chamber in the Day-time. And being ask'd how she knew she was thus carried about and disposed of, seeing in her Fits she was in a violent distraction? she answered, she never knew where she was, till they of the Family and the Neighbours with them, would be taking her out of the places whither she was so carried and removed. And being ask'd the reason wherefore she cried out so much against the said *Florence Newton* in her Fits? she answer'd, because she saw her, and felt her torturing.

AND being ask'd how she could think it was *Florence Newton* that did her this prejudice? she said, first, because she threatened her, then because after she had kiss'd her, she fell into these Fits, and that she both saw and felt her tormenting. And lastly, that when the People of the Family by advice of the Neighbours and consent of the Mayor, had sent for *Florence Newton* to come to the Deponent, she was always worse when she was brought unto her, and her Fits more violent than at another time. And that after the said *Florence* was committed at *Toughal*, the Deponent was not troubled, but was very well till a little while after the said *Florence* was removed to *Cork*, and then the Deponent was as ill as ever before. And the Mayor of *Toughal*, one Mr. *Mayre*, then sent to know whether the said *Florence* were bolted (as the Deponent was told) and finding she was not, order was given to put her Bolts on her; which being done, the Deponent saith she was well again, and so hath continued ever since. And being asked whether she had such like Fits before the said *Florence* gave her the kiss, she saith she never had any, but believes that with that kiss she bewitch'd her, and the rather because she hath heard from *Nicholas*

cholas Pyne, and others, that the said *Florence* had confessed as much.

THIS *Mary Longdon* having closed up her Evidence, *Florence Newton* peep'd at her, as it were betwixt the heads of the by standers that interposed betwixt her and the said *Mary*, and lifting up both her hands together, as they were manacled, cast them in an angry violent motion (as was seen and observed by *W. Aston*) towards the said *Mary*, as if she intended to strike at her if she could have reach'd her, and said, now she is down. Upon which the Maid fell suddenly down to the ground like a stone, and fell into a most violent Fit, that all the People that could come to lay hands on her could scarce hold her, she biting her own arms and shrieking out in a most hideous manner to the amazement of all the beholders. And continuing so for about a quarter of an hour (the said *Florence Newton* sitting by herself all that while pinching her own hands and arms, as was sworn by some that observed her) the Maid was ordered to be carried out of Court and taken into a House. Whence several Persons after that, brought word that the Maid was in a vomiting Fit, and they brought in several crooked Pins, and Straws, and Wooll, in white foam like spittle in great proportions. Whereupon the Court having taken notice that the Maid had said she had been very well when the said *Florence* was in Bolts, and ill again when out of them, till they were again put on her, demanded of the Jaylor if she was in Bolts or no, to which he said she was not, but only manacled. Upon which, order was given to put on her Bolts, and upon putting them on, she cried out she was kill'd, she was undone, she was spoiled, why do you torment me thus? and so continued complaining grievously for half a quarter of an hour. And then came in a Messenger from the Maid, and informed the Court the Maid was well. At which *Florence* immediately and cholerickly uttered these words, *she is not well yet*. And being demanded how she knew she was not well yet? she denied she said so, though many in Court heard her say the words, and she said, if she did, she knew not what she said, being old and disquieted, and distracted with her sufferings. But the Maid being reasonably

sonably well come to herself, was, before the Court knew any thing of it, sent out of Town to *Toughal*, and so was no farther examined by the Court.

The Fit of the Maid being urged by the Court with all the Circumstances of it upon *Florence*, to have been a continuance of her devilish practice, she denied it, and likewise the motion of her hands, or the saying, *now she is down*, though the Court saw the first and the words were sworn by one *Roger Moor*. And *Thomas Harrison* swore that he had observed the said *Florence* peep at her, and use that motion with her hands, and saw the Maid fall immediately upon that motion, and heard the words, *now she is down*, uttered.

NICHOLAS STOUT was next produced by Mr. Attorney-General, who being sworn and examined said, That he had oft tried her, having heard say that Witches could not say the Lord's Prayer, whether she could say that Prayer or no, and found she could not. Whereupon she said she could say it, and had oft said it, and the Court being desired by her to hear her say it; gave her leave, and four times together after these words [give us this day our daily bread] she continually said, *as we forgive them*, leaving always out the words [*and forgive us our trespasses*] upon which the Court appointed one near her to teach her these words she so left out. But she either could not, or would not say them, using only these or the like words when these were repeated, *Ay, ay, trespasses*, that's the words. And being oft pressed to utter the words as they were repeated to her, she did not. And being asked the reason, she said she was old and had a bad memory; and being asked how her memory served her so well for other parts of the Prayer, and only fail her for that, she said she knew not, neither could she help it.

JOHN PYNE being likewise sworn and examined, said that about *January* last the said *Mary Longdon* being his Servant, was much troubled with little Stones that were thrown at her where-ever she went, and that he hath seen them come as if they were thrown at her, others as if they dropped on her, and that he hath seen very great quantities of them, and that they would, after they had hit her, fall on the ground, and then vanish, so that none of them could be found. And farther that the Maid

once

once caught one of them, and he himself another, and one of them with a hole in it, she tied to her Purse, but it vanished in a little time, but the knot of the Leather that tied it remained unaltered. That after these stones had thus haunted her, she fell into most grievous fits, wherein she was so violently distracted, that four Men would have very much ado to hold her, and that in the highest extremity of her fits, she would cry out against *Gammer Newton* for hurting and tormenting of her. That sometimes the Maid would be reading in a Bible, and on a sudden he hath seen the Bible struck out of her Hand into the middle of the Room, and she immediately cast into a violent fit. That in the fits he hath seen two Bibles laid on her Breast, and in the twinkling of an eye they would be cast betwixt the two Beds the Maid lay upon, sometime thrown into the middle of the Room, and that *Nicholas Pyne* held the Bible in the Maid's hand so fast, that it being suddenly snatch'd away, two of the Leaves were torn. That in many other fits the Maid was removed strangely, in the twinkling of an eye, out of the Bed, sometimes into the bottom of a Chest with Linnen, under all the Linnen, and the Linnen not at all disordered, sometimes betwixt the two Beds she lay on, sometimes under a parcel of Wooll, sometimes betwixt his Bed and the Mat of it in another Room; and once she was laid on a small deal Board, which lay on the top of the House betwixt two Sollar Beams, where he was forced to rear up Ladders to have her fetch'd down. That in her Fits she hath often vomited up Wooll, Pins, Horse-nails, Straw, Needles, and Moss, with a kind of white foam or spittle, and hath had several Pins stuck into her arms and hands, that sometimes a Man must pull three or four times before he could pull one of them out; and some have been stuck between the flesh and the skin, where they might be perfectly seen, but not taken out, nor any place seen where they were put in. That when the Witch was brought into the Room where she was, she would be in more violent and longer lasting Fits than at other times. That all the time the Witch was at liberty, the Maid was ill, and as soon as she was committed and bolted, she recovered and was well, and when the Witch was removed to *Cork* the Maid fell ill. And thereupon the Mayor of *Toughal* sent to see if she were bolted

bolted or no, and to acquaint them the Maid was ill and desire them if the Witch were not bolted, they would bolt her. That she immediately mended and was as well as ever she was : and when the Messenger came from *Cork*, and told them when the Witch was bolted, it fell out to be the very time the Maid amended at *Roughal*.

NICHOLAS PYNE being sworn, saith, That the second night after that the Witch was in Prison, being the 24th of *March* last, he and *Joseph Thompson*, *Roger Hawkins*, and some others went to speak with her concerning the Maid, and told her that it was the general opinion of the Town that she had bewitched her, and desired her to deal freely with them, whether she had bewitched her or no. She said she had not *bewitched* her, but it may be she had *over-looked* her, and that there was a great difference betwixt *bewitching* and *over-looking*, and that she could not have done her any harm if she had not touched her, and that therefore she had kiss'd her. And she said that what mischief she thought of at that time she kiss'd her, that would fall upon her, and that she would not but confess she had wronged the Maid, and thereupon fell down upon her knees, and prayed God to forgive her for wronging the poor Wench. They wish'd that she might not be wholly destroyed by her ; to which she said, it must be another that must help her, and not they that did the harm. And then she said, there were others, as *Goody Halfpenny*, and *Goody Dod* in Town, that could do these things as well as she, and that it might be one of them that had done the Maid wrong.

THAT towards Evening the Door of the prison shook, and she arose up hastily and said, What makest thou here this time a night ? and there was a very great noise, as if some body with Bolts and Chains had been running up and down the Room, and they asked her what it was she spoke to and what it was made the noise ; and she said she saw nothing, neither did she speak, and if she did, it was she knew not what. But the next day she confess'd it was a *Spirit*, and her *Familiar* in the shape of a Greyhound.

HE saith farther, That he and Mr. *Edward Perry*, and others for Trial of her took a Tile off the Prison, next to the

the place where the Witch lay, and carried it to the House where the Maid lived, and put it into the fire till it was red hot, and then dropped some of the Maid's Water upon it, and the Witch was then grievously tormented, and when the Water consumed she was well again.

AND as to the stones falling on and cast at the Maid, as to the Maid's fits, her removal into the Chest under the Wooll, betwixt the Feather-beds, on the top of the deal Board betwixt two Sollar beams, concerning the Bibles and their remove, his holding one of them in the Maid's hands till two leaves were torn, concerning the Maid vomiting, and calling out against the Witch, he agreeth perfectly throughout with *John Pyne* as before.

EDWARD PERRY being likewise sworn, deposeth, That he, Mr. *Greatrix*, and Mr. *Blackwall*, went to the Maid, and Mr. *Greatrix*, and he had read of a way to discover a Witch, which he would put in practice. And so they sent for the Witch, and set her on a Stool, and a Shoemaker with a strong Awl endeavoured to stick it in the Stool, but could not till the third time. And then they bad her come off the Stool, but she said she was very weary and could not stir. Then two of them pulled her off, and the Man went to pull out his Awl, and it dropp'd into his hand with half an Inch broke off the blade of it, and they all looked to have found where it had been stuck, but could find no place where any entry had been made by it. Then they took another Awl, and put it into the Maid's hand, and one of them took the Maid's hand, and ran violently at the Witch's hand with it, but could not enter it, though the Awl was so bent that none of them could put it straight again. Then Mr. *Blackwall* took a Launce and launc'd one of her hands an Inch and a half long, and a quarter of an Inch deep, but it bled not at all. Then he launc'd the other hand, and then they bled.

HE further saith, That after she was in Prison, he went with *Roger Hawkins* and others to discourse with the Witch about the Maid, and they ask'd what it was she spake to the day before, and after some denial, she said it was a Grey-hound which was her Familiar, and went out at the Window; and then she said, If I have done the Maid hurt, I am sorry for it. And being then asked whether she had done her any hurt, she said she never did

bewitch

bewitch her, but confessed she had *overlooked* her that time she kiss'd her, but that she could not now help her, for none could help that did the mischief, but others. And further the Deponent saith, That after at the Assize at *Cashal*, he meeting with one *William Lap*, and discoursing about these passages with him, the said *Lap* told the Deponent, that if he would but take a Tile off the House near the place where the Witch lay and heat it red hot in the Fire, and then take some of the Maid's Water and drop upon it, that so long as this was doing, he should find the Witch most grievously tormented: That afterwards he, *Edward Perry*, *Nicholas Pyne* and others put this in practice, and found that the Witch was extremely tormented and vexed, and the experiment was over, she came to herself, and then they ask'd her how she came to hurt the Maid? and she said, that what evil she thought against the Maid that time she kiss'd her, that would fall upon her, and that she could not have hurt her except she had touch'd her, and then she fell on her knees and confessed she had wronged the Maid, and desired God to forgive her. And then they put her upon saying the Lord's Prayer, but she could not say the words, *and forgive us our trespasses*.

MR. WOOD a Minister being likewise sworn, and examined, deposes, That having heard of the Stones dropp'd and thrown at the Maid, and of her Fits, and meeting with the Maid's Brother, he went along with him to the Maid, and found her in her Fit crying out against *Gammer Newton*, that she prick'd her and hurt her. And when she came to herself, he asked her what had troubled her, and she said *Gammer Newton*. And the Deponent said, why, she was not there. Yes, said she, I saw her by my bed side. The Deponent then ask'd her the original of all, which she related from the time of her begging the Beef, and after Kissing, and so to that time. That then they caused the Maid to be got up and sent for *Florence Newton*, but she refused to come, pretending she was sick, though indeed it appeared she was well. Then the Mayor of *Toughal* came in and spoke with the Maid, and then sent again and caused *Florence Newton* to be brought in, and immediately the Maid fell into her Fit far more violent, and three times as long as at any other time, and all the time the Witch was in the Chamber, the Maid cried out continually of being hurt here and there, but

never named the Witch ; but as soon as she was removed, then she cried out against her by the name of *Gammer Newton*, and this for several times. And still when the Witch was out of the Chamber, the Maid would desire to go to Prayers, and he found good affections in her in time of Prayer, but when the Witch was brought in again, though never so privately, although she could not possibly, as the Deponent conceives, see her, she would be immediately senseless and like to be strangled, and so would continue till the Witch was taken out, and then though never so privately carried away, she would come again to her senses. That afterwards Mr. *Greatrix*, Mr. *Blackwall*, and some others, who would need satisfy themselves in the influence of the Witch's presence, tried it and found it several times. Although he did it with all possible privacy, and so as none could think it possible for the Maid to know either of the Witch's coming in or going out.

RICHARD MAYRE, Mayor of *Toughal*, being likewise sworn, saith, That about the 24th of *March* last, he sent for *Florence Newton*, and examined her about the Maid, and she at first denied it, and accused Goodwife *Halfpenny* and Goodwife *Dod*, but at length when he had caused a Boat to be provided, and had thought to have tryed the Water-Experiment on them all 3, then *Florence Newton* confessed she had over-look'd the Maid, and done her wrong with a Kiss ; for which she was heartily sorry, and desir'd God to forgive her. That then he likewise examined the other two Women, *Halfpenny* and *Dod*, but they utterly denied it, and were content to abide any Tryal : Whereupon he caused both *Florence*, *Halfpenny*, and *Dod*, to be carried to the Maid ; and he told her, these two Women, or one of them were said by *Gammer Newton* to have done her hurt, but she answer'd ; No, no, they are honest Women, but it is *Gammer Newton* that hurts me, and I believe she is not far off. That then they afterwards brought in *Newton* privately, and then she fell into a most violent Fit, ready to be strangled, till the Witch was removed, and then she was well again, and this for 3 several times. He farther deposeth, That there were 3 Aldermen in *Toughal*, whose Children she had kiss'd, as he had heard them affirm, and all the Children died presently after. And as to the sending to *Cork* to have the Bolts put on, swears as is formerly deposed.

JOSEPH THOMPSON being likewise sworn, said, That he went in *March* last with *Roger Hawkins*, *Nicholas Pyne*, and others to the Prison to confer with *Florence Newton* about the Maid ; but she would confesse nothing that time. But towards Night there was a noise at the Prison-door, as if something had shak'd the Door, and *Florence* started up and said, *What aileth thee to be here at this time of the Night ?* And there was much noise. And they ask'd her what she spoke to, and what made the great Noise ? But she denied that she spake, or that she knew of any Noise, and said, *If I spoke, I said I knew not what.* And they went their ways at that time, and went to her again the next Night, and ask'd her very seriously about the last Night's Passage, and the Noise ; and then she confesse'd to them that it was a Greyhound that came to her, and that she had seen it formerly, and that it went out at the Window : And then she confessed that she had done the Maid wrong, for which she was sorry, and desired God to forgive her.

Hitherto we have heard the most considerable Evidence touching *Florence Newton's* Witchcraft upon *Mary Longdon*, for which she was committed to *Toughal* Prison, *March* 24, 1661. But *April* following she bewitch'd one *David Jones* to Death, by kissing his Hand through the Grate of the Prison, for which she was indicted at *Cork* Affizes, and the Evidence is as follows.

Elenor Jones Relict of the said *David Jones*, being sworn and examined in open Court, what she knew concerning any practice of Witchcraft by the said *Florence Newton*, upon the said *David* her Husband, gave in the Evidence. That in *April* last, the said *David* her late Husband having been out all the Night, came home early in the Morning, and said to the said *Elenor* his Wife, *Where dost thou think I have been all Night ?* To which she answered, She knew not : Whereupon he replied, *I and Frank Besely have been standing Centinel over the Witch all Night :* To which she the said *Elenor* said, *Why, what hurt is that ?* Hurt, quoth he, marry I doubt it's never a jot the better for me ; for she hath kiss'd my Hand, and I have had a great pain in that Arm, and I verily believe she hath bewitched me, if ever she bewitched any Man. To which she answered, *The Lord forbid.*

That all the Night, and continually from that time, he was restless and ill, complaining exceedingly of a great pain in his Arm for 7 Days together, and at the 7 Days end he complained that the pain was come from his Arm to his Heart, and then kept his Bed Night and Day, grievously afflicted, and crying out against *Florence Newton*, and about 14 Days after he died.

FRANCIS BESELY, being sworn and examined, said, That about the time afore-mentioned, meeting with the said *David Jones*, and discoursing with him of the several Reports then stirring concerning the said *Florence Newton*, (who was then in prison at *Toughal*, for bewitching *Marry Longdon*) viz. That she had several Familiars resorting to her in sundry Shapes; the said *David Jones* told him, the said *Francis Besely*, that he had a great mind to watch her, the said *Florence Newton*, one Night, to see whether he could observe any Cats or other Creatures resort to her through the Grate, as 'twas suspected they did, and desired the said *Francis* to go with him, which he did. And that when they came thither, *David Jones* came to *Florence*, and told her, that he had heard she could not say the Lord's Prayer; to which she answered, She could: He then desir'd her to say it; but she excused herself by the decay of Memory through old Age: Then *David Jones* began to teach her, but she could not, or would not say it, though often taught it.

UPON which the said *David Jones* and *Besely* being withdrawn a little from her, and discoursing of her not being able to learn this Prayer, she called out to *David Jones*, and said *David! David! come hither, I can say the Lord's Prayer now*: Upon which *David* went towards her, and the said Deponent would have pluck'd him back, and persuaded him not to have gone to her, but he would not be persuaded, but went to the Grate to her, and she began to say the Lord's Prayer, but could not say, [*Forgive us our Trepasses*] so that *David* again taught her, which she seem'd to take very thankfully, and told him she had a great mind to have kiss'd him, but that the Grate hinder'd, but desired she might kiss his Hand; whereupon he gave her his Hand through the Grate, and she kiss'd it, and towards break of Day, they went away and parted, and soon after, the Deponent heard that *David Jones* was ill.

WHEREUPON

WHEREUPON he went to visit him, and found him about 2 or 3 Days after, very ill of a pain in the Arm; which he exceedingly complained of, and told the Depo-
nent, that ever since he parted with him, he had been seized on with that pain, and that the old Hag had bewitch'd him when she kiss'd his Hand, and that she had him now by the Hand, and was pulling off his Arm. And he said, *Do you not see the old Hag how she pulls me? Well, I lay my Death on her, she has bewitch'd me.* And several times after, would complain that she had tormented him, and had bewitched him, and that he laid his Death on her. And after 14 Days languishing, he, the said David Jones died.

N. B. *This Relation is copied from an authentick Record, every half Sheet having W. Aston writ in the Margin, and at the end of the Manuscript, who in all likelihood must be some Publick-Notary or Record-keeper. But this Witch of Youghal is so famous, that I have heard Mr. Greatrix speak of her at my Lord Conway's at Ragley, and remember very well he told the Story of the Axl to me there. There is in this Relation an eximious Example of the Magical Venom, of Witches; (whence they are called Veneficæ) viz. that all the Mischief this Witch did, was by kissing, or some way touching the party she bewitch'd, and she confess'd unless she touch'd her, she could do her no hurt. Which may be called a Magical Venom or Contagion. But how Over-looking and Bewitching are distinguished with those of this Hellish Fraternity, I know not. But that Mary Longdon was bewitch'd by her Over-looking her is manifest. Whether this Over-looking relates to ὁψθαλμός βλῶσαν, and that the Magical Venom came out at her Eyes when she kissed the Maid, and whether this ὁψθαλμός βλῶσαν was the first kind of Witchery, distinct from that of bewitching People by Images made of Wax, and afterward any bewitching by meer Looking or Touching, was called Over-looking, we will leave to the Criticks of that black School to decide. As also what is that, which in the Witches Shape, so haunts and torments the bewitched party. For that it is not the mere Fancy of the Bewitched seems reasonable to judge, because their mere Fancy could not create such kinds of extreme Torments to them. And therefore it is either the Witch's Familiar in her Shape, or the Aerial Spirit of the Witch, because the Witch*

is sometimes wounded by striking at her Appearance, as it happened in the Appearance of Jane Brooks, and also in that of Julian Cox, as you will find in the Relation following.

R E L A T I O N VIII.

The Narrative of Mr. Pool, a Servant and Officer in the Court to Judge Archer in his Circuit, concerning the Trial of Julian Cox for Witchcraft; who being himself then present, an Officer in the Court, noted as follows, viz..

JULIAN COX, aged about 70 Years, was indicted at Taunton in Somersetshire, about Summer Assizes, 1663, before Judge Archer, then Judge of Assize there, for Witchcraft, which she practised upon a young Maid, whereby her Body languished, and was impaired of Health, by reason of strange Fits upon account of the said Witchcraft.

THE Evidence against her was divided into two Branches: First, to prove her a Witch in general: Secondly, to prove her Guilty of the Witchcrafts contained in the Indictment.

FOR the proof of the first Particular: The first Witness was a Huntsman, who swore that he went out with a Pack of Hounds to hunt a Hare, and not far from *Julian Cox* her House, he at last started a Hare: The Dogs hunted her very close, and the third Ring hunted her in view, till at last the Huntsman perceiving the Hare almost spent, and making toward a great Bush, he ran on the other side of the Bush to take her up, and preserve her from the Dogs; but as soon as he laid Hands on her, it proved to be *Julian Cox*, who had her Head groveling on the ground, and her Globes (as he express'd it) upward: He knowing her, was so affrighted that his Hair on his Head stood an end; and yet spake to her, and ask'd her what brought her there; but she was so far out of Breath, that she could not make him any Answer: His Dogs also came up with full Cry to recover the Game, and smelt at her, and so left off Hunting any farther. And the Huntsman with his Dogs went home presently, sadly affrighted.

SECONDLY,

SECONDLY, Another Witness swore, That as he passed by *Cox* her Door, she was taking a Pipe of Tobacco upon the Threshold of her Door, and invited him to come in and take a Pipe, which he did, and as he was smoking, *Julian* said to him, Neighbour, look what a pretty thing there is: He look'd down and there was a monstrous great Toad betwixt his Legs, staring him in the Face: He endeavour'd to kill it by spurning it, but could not hit it: Whereupon *Julian* bade him forbear, and it would do him no hurt; but he threw down his Pipe and went home, (which was about two Miles off of *Julian Cox* her House) and told his Family what had happen'd, and that he believed it was one of *Julian Cox* her Devils.

AFTER, he was taking a Pipe of Tobacco at home, and the same Toad appear'd betwixt his Legs: He took the Toad out to kill it, and to his thinking, cut it in several pieces, but returning to his Pipe, the Toad still appeared: He endeavour'd to burn it, but could not: At length he took a Switch and beat it; the Toad ran several times about the Room to avoid him, he still pursuing it with Correction: At length the Toad cryed, and vanish'd, and he was never after troubled with it.

THIRDLY, Another swore, That *Julian* pass'd by his Yard while his Beasts were in Milking, and stooping down, scored upon the ground for some small time; during which time, his Cattle ran Mad, and some ran their Heads against the Trees, and most of them died speedily: Whereupon concluding they were bewitch'd, he was after advised to this Experiment, to find out the Witch, viz, to cut off the Ears of the bewitch'd Beasts, and burn them, and that the Witch should be in misery, and could not rest till they were pluck'd out; which he tried, and while they were burning, *Julian Cox* came into the House, raging and scolding, that they had abused her without cause, but she went presently to the Fire, and took out the Ears that were burning, and then she was quiet.

FOURTHLY, Another Witness swore, That she had seen *Julian Cox* fly into her own Chamber-window in her full proportion, and that she very well knew her, and was sure it was she.

FIFTHLY, Another Evidence, was the Confession of *Julian Cox* herself, upon her Examination before a Justice of Peace, which was to this purpose: That she had

been often tempted by the Devil to be a Witch, but never consented. That one Evening she walk'd out about a Mile from her own House, and there came riding towards her three Persons upon three Broom-staves, born up about a Yard and an half from the ground; two of them she formerly knew, which was a Witch and a Wizard that were hang'd for Witchcraft several Years before. The third Person she knew not; he came in the shape of a black Man, and tempted her to give him her Soul, or to that effect, and to express it by pricking her Finger, and giving her Name in her Blood in token of it, and told her, that she had Revenge against several Persons that had wrong'd her, but could not bring her purpose to pass without his help, and that upon the Terms aforesaid he would assist her to be revenged against them; but she said, she did not consent to it. This was the sum of the general Evidence to prove her a Witch.

BUT now for the second Particular, to prove her guilty of the Witchcraft upon the Maid, whereof she was indicted, this Evidence was offer'd.

IT was prov'd that *Julian Cox* come for an Alms to the House where this Maid was a Servant, and that the Maid told her, she should have none, and gave her a cross Answer that displeased *Julian*; whereupon *Julian* was angry, and told the Maid she should repent it before Night, and so she did; for before Night she was taken with a Convulsion Fit, and that after that left her, she saw *Julian Cox* following her, and cry'd out to the People in the House to save her from *Julian*.

BUT none saw *Julian* but the Maid, and all did impute it to her Imagination only. And in the Night she cry'd out of *Julian Cox*, and the black Man, that they came upon her Bed and tempted her to drink something they offer'd her, but she cry'd out, She defy'd the Devil's Drenches. This also they imputed to her Imagination, and bade her be quiet, because they in the same Chamber with her, did not see or hear any thing, and they thought it had been her Conceit only.

THE Maid the next Night expecting the same Conflict she had the Night before, brought up with her a Knife, and laid it at her Bed's head. About the same time of the Night as before, *Julian* and the black Man came again upon the Maid's Bed, and tempted her to drink that
which

which they brought, but she refused, crying, in the audience of the rest of the Family, that she defy'd the Devil's Drenches, and took the Knife and stabb'd *Julian*, and as she said, she wounded her in the Leg, and was importunate with the Witness to ride to *Julian Cox's* House presently to see if it were not so. The Witness went and took the Knife with him. *Julian Cox* would not let him in, but they forc'd the Door open, and found a fresh Wound in *Julian's* Leg, as the Maid had said, which did suit with the Knife, and *Julian* had been just dressing it when the Witness came. There was Blood also found upon the Maid's Bed.

THE next Morning the Maid continu'd her Out-cries, that *Julian Cox* appear'd to her in the House-wall, and offer'd her great Pins which she was forc'd to swallow: And all the Day the Maid was observ'd to convey her Hand to the House-wall, and from the Wall to her Mouth, and she seem'd by the motion of her Mouth, as if she did eat something; but none saw any thing but the Maid, and therefore thought still it might be her Fancy, and did not much mind it. But towards Night, this Maid began to be very ill, and complain'd, that the Pins that *Julian* forc'd her to eat out of the Wall, did torment her in all parts of her Body that she could not endure it, and made lamentable Out-cries for pain: Whereupon, several Persons being present, the Maid was undress'd, and in several parts of the Maid's Body several great swellings appeared, and out of the heads of the swellings, several great Pins points appear'd which the Witness took out; and upon the Trial there were about thirty great Pins produc'd in Court, (which I myself handled) all which were sworn by several Witnesses, that they were taken out of the Maid's Body, in manner as is is aforesaid.

JUDGE *Archer*, who try'd the Prisoner, told the Jury, That he had heard that a Witch could not repeat that Petition in the Lord's Prayer, viz. [*And lead us not into Temptation*] and having this occasion, he would try the Experiment, and told the Jury, that whether she could or could not, they were not in the least measure to guide their Verdict according to it, because it was not legal Evidence, but that they must be guided in their Verdict by the former Evidences given in upon Oath only.

THE Prisoner was call'd for up to the next Bar to the Court, and demanded if she could say the Lord's Prayer? She said she could, and went over the Prayer readily, till she came to that Petition; then she said, [And lead us into Temptation] or [And lead us not into no Temptation] but could not say [*And lead us not into Temptation*] though she was directed to say it after one that repeated it to her distinctly; but she could not repeat it otherwise than is express'd already, though try'd to do it near half a score times in open Court. After all which the Jury found her Guilty, and Judgment having been given within three or four Days, she was executed without any Confession of the Fact.

N. B. *This is a Copy of a Narrative sent by Mr. Pool, Octob. 24, 1672, to Mr. Archer of Emanuel College, Nephew to the Judge, upon the desire of Dr. Bright. But I remember I heard at Cambridge the main Passages of this Narrative when they first were spread abroad after the Assizes, and particularly by Dr. Rust, after Bishop of Dromore in Ireland. Nor do I doubt but it is a true Account of what was attested before Judge Archer at the Assizes. For it is a thing to me altogether incredible, that he that was an Officer or Servant of the Judge, and present in the Court at the Examination and Trial, and there took Notes, should write a Narrative, when there were so many Ear-witnesses besides himself of the same things, that would be obnoxious to the disproof of those that were present as well as himself. It may not be amiss here to transcribe what Dr. More did write to Mr. Glanvill touching this Story in a Letter dated Dec. 26, 1678.*

"This Narrative, says he, hath the most authentick Confirmation that human Affairs are capable of, Sense and the sacredness of an Oath. But yet I confess, I heard that Judge Archer has been tax'd by some of over-much Credulity, for sentencing Julian Cox to Death upon those Evidences. But to deal freely, I suspect by such as out of their Ignorance misinterpreted several Passages in the Evidence, or where of such a dull stupid Sadducean Temper, that they believe there are no Spirits nor Witches. And truly I must confess, that the Huntsman, tho' he deposed upon Oath, that when he came in to take up the Hare at the Bush, it proved to be Julian Cox with her Face towards the ground, &c. His expressing of himself touching
her

her Globes, and the Dogs smelling, &c. looks something humoursomely and ludicrously on it. But I must farther add, that I think it was only that his Fancy was tickled with the featness of the Phænomenon, not that he would be so wicked as to tell a Lie upon Oath, and that for nothing. Sic vita hominum est, says Tully, ut ad maleficium nemo conetur sine spe atque emolumento accedere. But that those half-witted People thought he swore false I suppose was, because they imagined that what he told, imply'd that Julian Cox was turn'd into an Hare, which she was not, nor did his Report imply any such real Metamorphosis of her Body, but that these ludicrous Dæmons exhibited to the sight of this Huntsman and his Dogs, the shape of an Hare, one of them turning himself into such a Form, and others hurrying on the Body of Julian near the same place, and at the same swiftmess, but interposing betwixt that Hare-like Spectre and her Body, modifying the Air, so that the Scene there to the Beholders sight, was as if nothing but Air were there, and a shew of Earth perpetually suited to that where the Hare pass'd. As I have heard of some Painters that have drawn the Sky in an huge Landskip, so lively, that the Birds have flown against it, thinking it free Air, and so have fallen down. And if Painters and Jugglers, by the Tricks of Leger de-main, can do such strange Feats to the deceiving of the Sight, it is no wonder that these airy invisible Spirits as far surpass them in all such præstigious doings, as the Air surpasses the Earth for subtilty.

And the like Præstigiæ may be in the Toad. It might be a real Toad (tho' actuated and guided by a Dæmon) which was cut in pieces, and that also which was whipp'd about, and at last snatch'd out of sight (as if it had vanish'd) by these Aerial Hocus-Pocus's. And if some Jugglers have Tricks to take hot Coals into their Mouth without hurt, certainly it is no strange thing that some small attempt did not suffice to burn that Toad. That such a Toad, sent by a Witch, and crawling up the Body of the Man of the House as he sat by the Fire-side, was overmaster'd by him and his Wife together, and burnt in the Fire. I have heard sometime ago credibly reported by one of the Isle of Ely. Of these Dæmoniack Vermin, I have heard other Stories also, as of a Rat that follow'd a Man
some

some score of Miles, trudging thro' thick and thin along with him. So little difficulty is there in that of the Toad.

And that of Julian Cox's being seen to fly in at her own Chamber Window, there is no difficulty in it, if it be understood of her Familiar, the black Man, that had transformed himself into her shape. For there is no such unusual thing for Witches to appear either in their Astral Spirits, or by their Familiars, as if it were their very bodily Persons. But when she appear'd to the Maid together with the black Man, and offer'd her to drink, it is likely it was her Astral Spirit, and Julian's being wounded in her body by the wound on her Astral Spirit, is just such another case as that of Jane Brooks, which you yourself note in your Book of Witchcraft.

The most incredible thing is her eating of Pins, she knowing them to be such. But they that are bewitch'd are not themselves, and being possess'd, are actuated in the parts of their body, and their mind driven by that ugly inmate in them, to what he will; which is notorious in the story of Mrs. Frogmorton's Children. And for the Pins thus swallow'd, their coming out in the exterior parts of her body, Examples of this sort are infinite; and far more strange than these are recorded by Baptista Van Helmont, de Injectis.

These are the most incredible passages in this Narrative, and yet you see how credible they are, if rightly understood. But those that believe no Spirits, will believe nothing never so credible of this kind, and others that have some natural aversion from these things will presently interpret them in the vulgar sense, and then sweetly sneer at their own ignorance. But I must confess, if this be a true Relation of what pass'd in the Court, I do not question but the things that were sworn did so appear to them that swore them. Or else there is nothing to be credited in human affairs. But concerning the Truth of the Relation, besides what I hinted in my last to you, you would do well to write to some or other in Taunton, &c. Thus far Dr. More.

And if one be so curious as to desire an account of Mr. Glanvill's farther inquiry into this business, I can tell him that he wrote to Mr. Hunt, who was then busy in some Court, yet made shift to read the Narrative, and wrote two or three lines to him back to this effect. That one
principal

principal Evidence was omitted in the Narrative, but that is nothing against the truth of the rest. But he adds also, that some things were false. Which would stumble one, and make him think that the credit of this Narrative is quite blasted thereby. But this riddle is easily unriddled by him that considers, that Mr. Hunt may respect those things that are said to be confess'd by her in her Examination before a Justice of Peace. For he also having some time examined her, and she making no such Confession to him (as Mr. Glanvill himself says in a Letter to Dr. More, that he perused that Examination in Mr. Hunt's Book, and there was not any thing considerable therein) might speak this in reference to the Examination which he had taken, she then not confessing so freely as to some other Justice, whose Examination therefore was made use of in the Court. But this cannot concern at all the rest of the Narrative, which was given upon Oath in the Court in the hearing of all. This I thought fit not to omit as being desirous to deal with all faithfulness in concealing nothing, and not to impose upon the Reader, but that he may make his judgment upon the whole matter.

As for the Witches being hurry'd along with that Hare-like Spectre, her being out of breath (as the Huntsman testify'd) makes it most probable; or at least that she was hurried from some other place on the earth, or in the air (to meet there at length with the Hare-like Spectre) but this invisibly by that *μαγικη*, or Prestigiatory art or faculty of these ludicrous Demons, whereby they can so modify the Air immediately next to the party they would conceal, that it looks there like the free Sky, or what Land-skip they please, as when they shew in a Shew-stone or Glass, the very Room in which the party is, the Demon by the power of his Imagination, so modifying at least his own Vehicle. Which power some of those of the Atheistick Brotherhood cannot with any face deny, supposing there are Demons, they giving a greater power to the Imagination of a Man, as if it were able to transform the Air into real Birds or Mice, or such like Creatures livingly such for the present. But any thing must be believed, rather than the Existence of Witches and Demons.

It will not be amiss here to take notice what an eminent example this Julian Cox is of Moses his Megnonenah or Mecaſſephah taken in the same sense, that is, of such a Witch

Witch as is thought by a *κλεψωπία*, or prestigiatory power (though it is the Devil that does these feats, not she) to transform herself into strange shapes, and use other such like deceptions of the sight. As also it is a notable instance of the Astral Spirits of Witches, how strongly, though at a distance of place, they are tied together in a fatal Sympathy with their Bodies, the Body of Julian being wounded by a stab at her Astral Spirit, as it fared also in Jane Brooks, and an Old Woman in Cambridgeshire, whose Astral Spirit coming into a Man's house, (as he was sitting alone at the Fire) in the shape of an huge Cat, and setting herself before the Fire, not far from him, he stole a stroke at the back of it with a Fire-fork, and seemed to break the back of it, but it scrambled from him, and vanish'd he knew not how. But such an Old Woman, a reputed Witch, was found dead in her Bed that very Night, with her Back broken, as I have heard some years ago credibly reported.

That also is a marvellous Magical Sympathy in this story of Julian Cox, that the burning of the Ears of the Beast bewitched by her, should put her into such rage and torment. Like the heating of the Tile red hot in the story of Florence Newton, and pouring some of the bewitched Maid's water upon it. Which puts me in mind of a very remarkable story of this kind, told by Mr. Brearely, once Fellow of Christ's College in Cambridge, who boarded in an house in Suffolk, where his Landlady had been ill handled by Witchcraft.

For an old Man that travelled up and down the Country, and had some acquaintance at that house, calling in and asking the Man of the house how he did and his Wife; He told him that himself was well, but his Wife had been a long time in a languishing condition, and that she was haunted with a thing in the shape of a Bird, that would flurr near to her face, and that she could not enjoy her natural rest well. The Old Man bid him and his Wife be of good courage. It was but a dead Spright, he said, and he would put him in a course to rid his Wife of this languishment and trouble. He therefore advised him to take a Bottle, and put his Wife's Urine into it, together with Pins and Needles and Nails, and Cork them up, and set the Bottle to the Fire well cork'd, which when it had felt a while the heat of the Fire, began to move and joggle a little, but he for sureness took the Fire shovel, and held it hard
upon

upon the Cork. And as he thought, he felt something one while on this side, another while on that, shove the Fire-shovel off, which he still quickly put on again, but at last at one shoving the Cork bounced out, and the Urine, Pins, Nails and Needles all flew up, and gave a report like a Pistol, and his Wife continued in the same trouble and languishment still.

Not long after, the Old Man came to the house again, and inquired of the Man of the house how his Wife did. Who answered, as ill as ever, if not worse. He ask'd him if he had followed his direction. Yes, says he, and told him the event as is abovesaid. Ha, quoth he, it seems it was too nimble for you. But now I will put you in a way that will make the business sure. Take your Wife's Urine as before, and cork it in a Bottle with Nails, Pins, and Needles, and bury it in the Earth; and that will do the feat. The Man did accordingly. And his Wife began to mend sensibly and in a competent time was finely well recovered. But there came a Woman from a Town some miles off to their house, with a lamentable Out-cry, that they had killed her Husband. They ask'd her what she meant and thought her distracted, telling her they knew neither her nor her Husband. Yes, saith she, you have killed my Husband, he told me so on his Death-bed. But at last they understood by her, that her Husband was a Wizard, and had bewitched this Man's Wife, and that this Counter-practice prescribed by the Old Man, which saved the Man's Wife from languishment, was the death of that Wizard that had bewitched her. This story did Mr. Brearly hear from the Man and Woman's own Mouth who were concerned, at whose house he for a time Boarded, nor is there any doubt of the truth thereof.

But it will be more easie for any rational Man to believe stories of this kind, than to find out a satisfactory account of the operation and effect, or to assure the lawfulness of such counter-practice against Witchcraft, unless they can be resolved into the Sympathy and Synenergy of the Spiritus Mundanus, (which Plotinus calls *τὸ μέγα πνεῦμα* the grand Magician) such as the operation of the Weapon-salve, and other Magnetick Cures are resolved into. And forasmuch as the power of a truly Divine Magick, such as Prophets and Holy Law givers are endued with, is too great and August to be found in ordinary good Men, that are to bring

no new Law or Religion into the World, the benignity of Providence is to be acknowledged in that the Villanies of Witchcraft lie obnoxious to such a natural or ratified way of Discoveries and Counter-practices as these. But how this obnoxiousness of Witches is complicated with their Familiar sucking their Bodies, is a point too nice and prolix to enter upon here. But it is most safe not to tamper at all with these things, and most happy to have no occasion for it.

Lastly, as for Julian Cox her not being able to say one of the Petitions in the Lord's Prayer, the case is like that of Florence Newton the Irish Witch, but unlike in this, that it was not the same Petition Florence Newton stuck at. And I remember when I had the curiosity with a friend of mine, of examining certain Witches at Castle-hill, in Cambridge, the most notorious of them, who also was hanged for a Witch, offered to say the Creed and Lord's Prayer, as an Argument she was no Witch, and so far as I remember, she said the Lord's Prayer right, but was out at the Creed; nor do I think this any certain sign of their guilt or innocency, and therefore Judge Archer did well to lay no stress on it. But these things are of less moment, and therefore I pass to the next Relation, which looks not so much like Witchcraft, as the apparition of the Ghost of one deceased."

RELATION IX.

The Narrative of Thomas Goddard of Marleborough, in the County of Wilts, Weaver, made the 23. Nov. 1674.

WH O saith, That on Monday the Ninth of this Instant, as he was going to Ogborn, at a Style on the Highway near Mr. Goddard's Ground, about Nine in the Morning, he met the Apparition of his Father-in-law, one Edward Avon of this Town, Glover, who died in May last, having on, to his appearance, the same Cloaths, Hat, Stockings, and Shoes he did usually wear when he was living, standing by, and leaning over that Style. Which when he came near, the Apparition spake to him with an audible voice these words, *Are you afraid?* To which he answered, I am thinking on one who is dead and buried,

ried, whom you are like. To which the Apparition replied with the like voice, I am he that you were thinking on, I am *Edward Avon* your Father-in-law, come near to me, I will do you no harm. To which *Goddard* answered, I trust in him who hath bought my Soul with his precious Blood, you shall do me no harm. Then the Apparition said, How stand cases at home? *Goddard* ask'd what cases? Then it ask'd him how do *William* and *Mary*, meaning, as he conceived, his Son *William Avon* a Shoemaker here, and *Mary* his Daughter the said *Goddard's* Wife. Then it said, What! *Taylor* is dead, meaning, as he thought, one *Taylor* of *London*, who married his Daughter *Sarah*, which *Taylor* dyed about *Michaelmas* last. Then the Apparition held out its hand, and in it, as *Goddard* conceived, twenty or thirty shillings in silver, and then spake with a loud voice : *Take this Money and send it to Sarah ; for I shut up my Bowels of compassion toward her in the time of my life, and now here is somewhat for her.* And then said, *Mary* (meaning his the said *Goddard's* Wife as he conceived) *is troubled for me ; but tell her God hath shewed mercy to me contrary to my deserts.* But the said *Goddard* answered, *In the name of JESUS CHRIST I refuse all such Money.* Then the Apparition said, *I perceive you are afraid, I will meet you some other time.* And immediately it went up the Lane to his appearance. So he went over the same Style, but saw it no more that day.

HE saith, The next night about seven of the Clock, it came and opened his Shop Window, and stood in the like Cloaths, looked him in the Face, but said nothing to him. And the next night after, as *Goddard* went forth into his Backside with a Candle light in his hand, it appeared to him again in the same shape, but he being in fear, ran into his house, and saw it no more then.

BUT he saith, That on *Thursday* the twelfth instant, as he came from *Chilton*, riding down the Hill between the Mannor-house and *Axford-Farm-Field*, he saw something like a Hare crossed his way, at which his Horse, frightened, threw him in the dirt ; as soon as he could recover on his feet, the same Apparition there met him again in the same habit, and there standing about eight foot directly before him in the way, spake again to him with a loud voice, *Source*, (a word he commonly used when living) *you*

have stayed long ; and then said to him, Thomas, bid William Avon take the Sword that he had of me, which is now in his house, and carry it to the Wood as we go to Alton, to the upper end of the Wood by the ways side ; for with that Sword I did wrong above Thirty years ago, and he never prospered since he had that Sword. And bid William Avon give his Sister Sarah twenty shillings of the Money which he had of me. And do you talk with Edward Lawrence, for I borrowed twenty shillings of him several years ago and did say I had paid him, but I did not pay it him ; and I would desire you to pay him twenty shillings out of the Money which you had from James Elliot, at two payments. Which Money the said Goddard now saith was five pounds, which James Elliot a Baker here owed the said Avon on Bond, and which he the said Goddard had received from the said Elliot since Michaelmas at two payments, viz 3 s. at one, and 3 l. 5. s. at another payment. And it farther said to him, Tell Margaret (meaning his own Wife as he conceived) that I would desire her to deliver up the little which I gave to little Sarah Taylor, to the Child, or to any one she will trust for it. But if she will not, speak to Edward Lawrence, to persuade her. But if she will not then, tell her that I will see her very suddenly. And see that this be done within a Twelve-month and a day after my decease, and peace be with you. And so it went away over the Rails into the Wood there in the like manner as any Man would go over a Style to his apprehension, and so he saw it no more at that time. And he saith, that he paid the twenty Shillings to Edward Lawrence of this Town, who being present now doth remember he lent the said Avon twenty Shillings about twenty years ago, which none knew but himself and Wife and Avon and his Wife, and was never paid it again before now by this Goddard.

AND this said Goddard farther saith, That this very day by Mr. Mayor's order, he with his Brother-in-law William Avon, went with the Sword, and about Nine a Clock this Morning, they laid down the Sword in the Copse near the place the Apparition had appointed Goddard to carry it, and then coming away thence, Goddard looking back, saw the same Apparition again in the like habit as before. Whereupon he called to his Brother-in-law, and said, *Here is the Apparition of our Father ;*
 Who

Who said, *I see nothing.* Then Goddard fell on his Knees ; and said, *Lord open his Eyes that he may see it.* But he replied, *Lord grant I may not see it, if it be thy blessed Will.* And then the Apparition, to Goddard's appearance, beckened with his hand to him to come to it. And then Goddard said, *In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, what would you have me do ?* Then the Apparition said to him, *Thomas, take up the Sword, and follow me.* To which he said, *Should both of us come, or but one of us ?* To which it answered, *Thomas, do you take up the Sword.* And so he took up the Sword and followed the Apparition about ten Lugs (that is Poles) farther into the Copse, and then turning back, he stood still about a Lug and a half from it, his Broher-in-law staying behind at the place where they first laid down the Sword. Then Goddard laying down the Sword upon the ground, saw something stand by the Apparition like a Mastiff Dog of a brown colour. Then the Apparition coming towards Goddard, he stepped back about two steps, and the Apparition said to him, *I have permission to you, and commission not to touch you ;* and then it took up the Sword, and went back to the place at which before it stood, with a Mastiff Dog by it as before, and pointed the top of the Sword in the ground, and said, *In this place lies buried the Body of him which I murdered in the year 1635, which is now rotten and turned to dust.* Whereupon Goddard said, *I do adjure you in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, wherefore did you do this Murder ?* And it said, *I took Money from the Man, and he contended with me, and so I murdered him.* Then Goddard ask'd him, who was confederate with him in the said Murder ? and it said, *None but myself.* Then Goddard said, *What would you have me do in this thing ?* And the Apparition said, *This is that the World may know that I murdered a Man, and buried him in this place in the year 1635.*

THEN the Apparition laid down the Sword on the bare ground there whereon grew nothing, but seemed to Goddard to be as a Grave funk in. And then the Apparition rushing further into the Copse vanished, he saw it no more. Whereupon Goddard and his Brother-in-law Avon leaving the Sword there, and coming away together, Avon told Goddard he heard his voice, and understood

what he said, and heard other words distinct from his, but could not understand a word of it, nor saw any *Apparition* at all. Which he now also present affirmeth, and all which the said *Goddard* then attested under his hand, and affirmed he will depose the same when he shall be there-to required.

IN the Presence of *Christ. Lypyatt*, Mayor, *Rolf. Bayly*, Town-Clerk, *Joshua Sacheverel*, Rector of *St. Peter's* in *Marlborough*.

Examined by me,

Will. Bayly.

N. B. *That Tho. Goddard saw this Apparition, seems to be a thing undubitable; but whether it was his Father-in-law's Ghost, that is more questionable. The former is confirmed from an Hand at least impartial, if not dis-favourable to the Story. The party in his Letter to Mr. Glanvill writes briefly to this effect. 1. That he does verily think that this Tho. Goddard does believe the Story most strongly himself. 2. That he cannot imagine what interest he should have in raising such a Story, he bringing Infamy on his Wife's Father, and obliging himself to pay 20 s. Debt, which his Poverty could very ill spare. 3. That his Father-in-law Edward Avon, was a resolute sturdy Fellow in his young Years, and many Years a Bailiff to arrest People. 4. That Tho. Goddard had the repete of an honest man, knew as much in Religion as most of his Rank and Breeding, and was a constant frequenter of the Church, till about a Year before this happened to him, he fell off wholly to the Non-Conformists.*

ALL this hitherto, save this last of all, tends to the Confirmation of the Story. Therefore this last shall be the first Allegation against the credibility thereof. 2. It is farther alleged, *That possibly the design of the Story may be to make him to be accounted an extraordinary Somebody among the Dissenting Party. 3. That he is sometimes troubled with Epileptical Fits. 4. That the Mayor sent the next Morning to dig the place where the Spectre said the murder'd Man was buried, and there was neither Bones found, nor any difference of the Earth in that place from the rest.*

BUT we answer briefly to the first: *That his falling off to the Non Conformists, though it may argue a vacillancy*
of

of his Judgment, yet it does not any defect of his external Senses, as if he were less able to discern when he saw or heard any thing than before: To the second, That it is a perfect contradiction to his strong belief of the Truth of his own Story, which plainly implies that he did not feign it to make himself an extraordinary some-body: To the third that an Epileptical Person, when he is out of his Fits, hath his external Senses, as true and entire, as a drunken Man has when his drunken Fit is over, or a Man awake after a Night of Sleep and Dreams. So that this Argument has not the least shew of force with it, unless you will take away the authority of all Men's Senses, because at sometimes they have not a competent use of them, namely, in Sleep, Drunkenness, or the like. But now lastly, for the fourth, which is most considerable, It is yet of no greater force than to make it questionable, whether this Spectre was the Ghost of his Father, or some ludicrous Goblin, that would put a trick upon Thomas Goddard, by personating his Father-in-law, and by a false pointing at the pretended Grave of the Murdered make him ridiculous. For what Porphyrius has noted, I doubt not but is true, that Dæmons sometimes personate the Souls of the Deceased. But if an uncoffined Body being laid in a Ground exposed to wet and dry, the Earth may in Thirty or Forty Years space consume the very Bones and assimilate all to the rest of the Mold, when some Earths will do it in less than the fifteenth or twentieth part of that space: Or if the Ghost of Edward Avon might have forgot the certain place (it being no grateful Object of his memory) where he buried the murdered Man, and only guessed that to be it, because it was something sunk, as if the Earth yielded upon the wasting of the buried Body, the rest of the story will still naturally import, that it was the very Ghost of Edward Avon. Besides, himself expressly declares, as that the Body was buried there, so that by this time it was all turn'd into Dust.

BUT whether it was a ludicrous Dæmon, or Edward Avon's Ghost concerns not our Scope. It is sufficient that it is a certain Instance of a real Apparition, and I thought fit as in the former story, so here to be so faithful as to conceal nothing that any might pretend to lessen the credibility thereof. Stories of the appearing of Souls departed are not for the Tcoth of the Non-Conformists, who, as it is said, if

they generally believe this, it must be from the undeniable Evidence thereof, nor could Thomas Goddard gratify them by inventing of it; and that it was not a Fancy, the Knowledge of the 20 s. Debt imparted to Thomas Goddard, ignorant thereof before, and his Brother Avon's hearing a Voice distinct from his, in his Discourse with the Apparition, does plainly enough imply. Nor was it Goddard's own Fancy, but the real Spectre that opened his Shop-window: Nor his Imagination, but something in the shape of an Hare that made his Horse start and cast him into the Dirt: The Apparition of Avon being then accompanied with that Hare, as after with a Mastiff Dog. And lastly, the whole frame of the story, provided the Relator does verily think it true himself, (as Mr. S. testifies for him in his Letter to Mr. Glanvill, and himself profess'd he was ready at any time to swear to it) is such, that it being not a voluntary Invention, cannot be an imposing Fancy.

RELATION X.

The Apparition of the Ghost of Major George Sydenham, to Captain William Dyke, taken out of a Letter of Mr. James Douch of Mongton, to Mr. Jos. Glanvill.

CONCERNING the Apparition of the Ghost of Major George Sydenham, (late of *Dulverton* in the County of *Somerset*) to Captain *William Dyke*, late of *Skilgate* in this County also, and now likewise deceased: Be pleased to take the Relation of it as I have it from the worthy and learned *Dr. Tho. Dyke*, a near kinsman of the Captain's, thus: Shortly after the Major's Death, the Doctor was desired to come to the House, to take care of a Child that was there sick, and in his way thither he called on the Captain, who was very willing to wait on him to the place, because he must, as he said, have gone thither that night, though he had not met with so encouraging an opportunity. After their arrival there at the House, and the Civility of the People shewn them in that Entertainment, they were seasonably conducted to their Lodging, which they desired might be together in the same bed: Where after they had lain a while, the Captain knock'd, and bids the Servant bring him two of the largest and biggest Candles lighted that he could get. Whereupon the

Doctor

Doctor enquires what he meant by this? The Captain answers, You know Cousin what Disputes my Major and I have had touching the Being of a God, and the Immortality of the Soul; in which points we could never yet be resolved, tho' we so much fought for and desired it; and therefore it was at length fully agreed between us, That he of us that dyed first, should the third Night after his Funeral, between the Hours of Twelve and one, come to the little House that is here in the Garden, and there give a full account to the Survivor touching these Matters, who should be sure to be present there at the set time, and so receive a full satisfaction; and this, says the Captain, is the very Night, and I am come on purpose to fulfil my promise. The Doctor dissuaded him, minding him of the danger of following those strange Counsels, for which we could have no Warrant, and that the Devil might by some cunning Device make such an advantage of this rash attempt, as might work his utter Ruin. The Captain replies, That he had solemnly engag'd; and that nothing should discourage him; and adds, that if the Doctor would wake a while with him, he would thank him, if not, he might compose himself to his rest; but for his own part, he was resolv'd to watch, that he might be sure to be present at the Hour appointed: To that purpose he sets his Watch by him, and as soon as he perceived by it that it was half an Hour past 11, he rises, and taking a Candle in each Hand, goes out by a back-door, of which he had before gotten the Key, and walks to the Garden-house, where he continued two Hours and an half, and at his return declared, that he had neither saw nor heard any thing more than what was usual. But I know, said he, that my Major would surely have come, had he been able.

ABOUT 6 weeks after, the Captain rides to *Eaton* to place his Son a Scholar there, when the Doctor went thither with him. They lodged there at an Inn, the Sign was the *Christopher*, and tarried two or three Nights, not lying together now as before at *Dulverton*, but in two several Chambers. The Morning before they went thence, the Captain staid in his Chamber longer than he was wont to do before he called upon the Doctor. At length he comes into the Doctor's Chamber, but in a Visage and Form much differing from himself, with his Hair and Eyes staring, and his whole Body shaking and trembling: Where-

at the Doctor wondring, presently demanded; What is the matter Cousin Captain? The Captain replies, I have seen my Major: At which the Doctor seeming to smile, the Captain immediately confirms it, saying, If ever I saw him in my Life, I saw him but now: And then he related to the Doctor what had passed, thus: This Morning after it was light, some one comes to my bed-side, and suddenly drawing back the Curtains, calls *Cap. Cap.* (which was the term of familiarity that the Major used to call the Captain by) To whom I replied, *What my Major?* To which he returns, *I could not come at the time appointed, but I am now come to tell you, That there is a God, and a very just and terrible one, and if you do not turn over a new Leaf, (the very Expressions as is by the Doctor punctually remembered) you will find it so.* The Captain proceeded: On the Table by, there lay a Sword, which the Major had formerly given me. Now after the Apparition had walked a turn or two about the Chamber, he took up the Sword, drew it out, and finding it not so clean and bright as it ought, *Cap. Cap.* says he, *this Sword did not use to be kept after this manner when it was mine.* After which Words he suddenly disappeared.

THE Captain was not only thoroughly persuaded of what he had thus seen and heard, but was from that time observed to be very much affected with it: And the Humour that before in him was brisk and jovial, was then strangely alter'd; insomuch, as very little Meat would pass down with him at Dinner, though at the taking leave of their Friends there was a very handsome Treat provided: Yea it was observed, that what the Captain had thus seen and heard, had a more lasting Influence upon him, and 'tis judged by those who were well acquainted with his Conversation, that the remembrance of this Passage stuck close to him, and that those words of his dead Friend were frequently sounding fresh in his Ears, during the remainder of his Life, which was about two Years.

N. B. For a farther Confirmation of the Truth of the Story, it will not be amiss to take notice what Mr. Douch writes in his second Letter to Mr. Glanvill, touching the Character of the Major and the Captain. They were both, saith he, of my good Acquaintance, Men well bred, and of a brisk Humour, and jolly Conversation, of very quick and keen parts, having also been both of them University and
Inns

Inns of Court Gentlemen. The Major I conceive, was about 45 Years old when he died, and I believe the Captain might then be 50, or somewhat more. I cannot understand that the Doctor and the Captain had any Discourse concerning the former Engagement to meet, after the disappointment at that Time and Place; or whether the Captain had after that any expectation of the performance of the Promise which the Major had made him. Thus far Mr. Douch: And truly one would naturally think, that he failing the solemn appointed time, the Captain would consequently let go all Hopes and Expectation of his appearing after-ward, or if he did, that it would be at such a time of the Night as was first determined of, and not at the Morning-light: Which season yet is less obnoxious to the Impostures of Fancy and Melancholy, and therefore adds some weight to the Assurance of the Truth of the Apparition. I will only add one Clause more out of that second Letter that makes to the point. This story, saith he, has and doth still obtain credit from all that knew the Captain, who it seems was not at all (shie or scrupulous to relate it to any one that ask'd him concerning it, though it was observed he never mentioned it, but with great Terror and Trepidation,

RELATION XI.

Being a Postscript of the first Letter of Mr. Douch, concerning the appearing of the Ghost of Sir George Villiers, Father to the first Duke of Buckingham.

SIR,

SINCE the Writing of the premisses, a Passage concerning an Apparition of Sir George Villiers, giving warning of his Son's (the Duke of Buckingham's) Murder, is come into my Mind, which hath been assured by a Servant of the Duke's to be a great Truth, thus: Some few Days before the Duke's going to Portsmouth, (where he was stabb'd by Felton) the Ghost of his Father, Sir George Villiers appeared to one Parker, (formerly his own Servant, but then Servant to the Duke) in his Morning Gown; charging Parker to tell his Son, that he should decline that Employment and Design he was going upon, or else
he

he would certainly be murdered: *Parker* promised the Apparition to do it, but neglected it. The Duke making preparations for his Expedition to *Roche*, the Apparition came again to *Parker*, taxing him very severely for his breach of Promise, and required him not to delay the acquainting his Son of the Danger he was in: Then *Parker* the next Day tells the Duke, that his Father's Ghost had twice appeared to him, and had commanded him to give him that Warning: The Duke slighted it, and told him he was an old doating Fool. That Night the Apparition came to *Parker* a third time saying, '*Parker* thou hast done well in warning my Son of his Danger, but though he will not yet believe thee, go to him once more however, and tell him from me by such a Token, (naming a private Token) which no body knows, but only he and I, that if he will not decline this Voyage, such a Knife as this is (pulling a long Knife out from under his Gown) will be his Death. This Message *Parker* also delivered the next Day to the Duke, who when he heard the private Token, believed that he had it from his Father's Ghost; yet said, that his Honour was now at Stake, and he could not go back from what he had undertaken, come Life, come Death. These Three several appearances of this Apparition to Mr. *Parker*, was always at Midnight when he was reading some Book. This Fact, *Parker*, after the Duke's Murder, communicated to his Fellow-servant, *Henry Ceeley*, who told it to a Reverend Divine, a Neighbour of mine, from whose Mouth I have it. This *Henry Ceeley*, has not been dead above twenty Years, and his Habitation for several Years before his death, was at *North-Currey*, but three Miles from this place. My Friend, the Divine aforesaid, was an intimate Acquaintance of this *Henry Ceeley*'s, and assures me he was a Person of known Truth and Integrity.

N. B. *This Story is likewise related by the Earl of Clarendon in his History of the Civil Wars, and also recorded with great Enlargements by Mr. William Lilly in his Observations on the Life and Death of King Charles 1st. 12mo. pag. 28. Lond. 1715.*

RELATION XII.

Of the appearing of Mr. Watkinson's Ghost to his Daughter Toppam, contained in a Letter of Mrs. Taylor of the Ford by St. Neots, to Dr. Ezekias Burton.

S I R,

MY Service to you and your Lady. Now according to your desire I shall write what my Cousin told me: Her name was *Mary Watkinson*, her Father did live in *Smithfield*, but she was married to one *Francis Toppam*, and she did live in *York* with her Husband, being an ill one, who did steal her away against her Parents consent, so that they could not abide him: But she came often to them, and when she was last with him, upon their parting she express'd, that she feared she should never see him more. He answer'd her, if he shou'd die, if ever God did permit the Dead to see the Living, he would see her again. Now after he had been buried about half a Year, on a Night when she was in Bed, but could not sleep, she heard Musick, and the Chamber grew lighter and lighter, and she being broad-awake, saw her Father stand at her Bed-side; who said, *Mall, did I not tell thee that I would see thee once again?* She called him Father, and talked of many things; and he bid her be Patient, and Dutiful to her Mother. And when she told him she had a Child since he did die: He said that would not trouble her long. He bid her speak what she would now to him, for he must go, and that he should never see her more till they met in the Kingdom of Heaven. So the Chamber grew darker and darker, and he was gone with Musick. And she said she did never dream of him, nor did ever see any Apparition of him after.

HE was a very honest godly Man, as far as I can tell,

N. B. *This Story Dr. Rust, who was after Bishop of Dromore, told me, I remember, with great assurance*
some

Some twenty Years ago, who was not at all credulous in these things. And it was so as Mrs. Taylor relates to Dr. Burton.

R E L A T I O N XIII.

The appearing of the Ghost of the Daughter of Dr. Farrar to him after her Death, according to a brief Narrative sent from the Revd. Mr. Edward Fowler to Dr. H. More, Anno. 1678, May 11.

THIS Week Mr. Pearson, who is a worthy good Minister of this City of *London*, told me, That his Wife's Grandfather, a Man of great Piety, and Physician to this present King, his name *Farrar*, nearly related (I think Brother) to the famous Mr. *Farrar* of *Little-Giddon*, I say this Gentleman and his Daughter (Mrs. Pearson's Mother, a very pious Soul) made a Compact at his intreaty, That the *first* of them that *Died*, if *happy*, should after Death appear to the Survivor, if it were possible: The Daughter with some difficulty consenting thereto.

SOME time after, the Daughter who lived at *Gillingham-lodge*, two Miles from *Salisbury*, fell in Labour, and, by mistake, being given a noxious Potion, instead of another prepared for her, suddenly died.

HER Father lived in *London*, and that very Night she died she opened his Curtains, and looked upon him. He had before heard nothing of her illness, but upon this Apparition confidently told his Maid, that his Daughter was dead, and two Days after received the News. Her Grandmother told Mrs. Pearson this, as also an Uncle of hers, and the above-said Maid, and this Mrs. Pearson I know, and she is a very prudent and good Woman.

RELATION XIV.

The appearing of the Ghost of one M. Bower of Guilford, to an Highway-man in Prison, as it is set down in a Letter of Dr. Ezekias Burton, to Dr. H. More.

ABOUT ten Years ago, one Mr. *Bower*, an ancient Man, living at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, was upon the High-way, not far from that place, found newly murdered very barbarously, having one great cut cross his Throat, and another down his Breast. Two Men were seiz'd upon suspicion, and put into Goal at *Guilford*, to another who had before been committed for Robbing as I suppose. That Night this third Man was awakened about one of the Clock, and greatly terrified with an old Man, who had a great gash cross his Throat almost from Ear to Ear, and a wound down his Breast. He also came in stooping, and holding his Hand on his Back. Thus he appeared, but said nothing. The Thief calls to his two new Companions, they grumbled at him, but made no answer.

IN the Morning he had retained so lively an impression of what he had seen, that he spoke to them to the same purpose again, and they told him it was nothing but his fancy: But he was so fully persuaded of the reality of the Apparition, that he told others of it, and it came to the Ears of my Friend Mr. *Reading*, Justice of Peace in *Surrey*, and Cousin to the Gentleman that was murdered.

HE immediately sent for the Prisoner, and ask'd him in the first place, whether he was born, or had lived about *Guilford*? To which he answered, no. Secondly, he enquired if he knew any of the Inhabitants of that Town, or of the Neighbourhood? He replied, That he was a stranger to all thereabout. Then he enquired if he had ever heard of one Mr. *Bower*? He said, no. After this, he examined him for what cause those two other Men were imprisoned? To which he answered, he knew not, but supposed for some Robbery.

AFTER

AFTER these preliminary Interrogatories, he desired him to tell him what he had seen in the Night, which he immediately did, exactly according to the Relations he had heard, and I gave before: And withal, described the old Gentleman so by his picked Beard, and that he was (as he called it) rough on his Cheeks, and that the Hairs of his Face were black and white. Mr. *Reading* saith, That he himself could not have given a more exact Description of Mr. *Bower* than this was. He told the Highway-man, that he must give him his Oath, (though that would signify little from such a Rogue) to which the Man readily consented, and took Oath before the Justice of all this.

MR. READING being a very discrete Man, concealed this Story from the Jury at the Affizes, as knowing that this would be no Evidence according to our Law. However, the Friends of the Murdered Gentleman had been very inquisitive, and discovered several suspicious Circumstances; one of which was, that those two Men had washed their Cloaths, and that some stains of Blood remained. Another, that one of them had denied he ever heard that Mr. *Bower* was dead, whenas he had in another place confess'd it two Hours before. Upon these and such like Evidences, those two were condemn'd and executed, but denied it to the last: But one of them said, the other could clear him if he would, which the By-standers understood not.

AFTER some time a Tinker was hang'd, (where, the Gentleman has forgot) who at his Death said, That the murder of Mr. *Bower* of *Guilford*, was his greatest trouble; for he had a hand in it: He confess'd he struck him a blow on the Back, which fetch'd him from his Horse, and when he was down, those other Men that was arraign'd and executed for it, cut his Throat and rifled him. This is the first Story, which I had from Mr. *Reading* himself, who is a very honest prudent Person, and not credulous.

I know you desire to have the names of all the Persons referr'd to in this Relation, and the exact time and place, but Mr. *Reading* cannot recollect them now, though he tells me, he sent an exact and full Narrative of all to one Mr. *Onslow*, a Justice of the Peace
in

in that Neighbourhood, with whom I have some acquaintance, and I will endeavour to retrieve it.

N. B. *The names of all the Persons, and exact Time and Place of all the Actions, I find not amongst Mr. Glanvill's Papers, but the Story is perfect as it is, and so credible, that I thought it worthy of a Place amongst the rest. And this appearing of Mr. Bower is just such another thing as the appearing of Anne Walker.*

WE proceed to the second Story, which Mr. Reading imparted to the Doctor.

RELATION XV.

Another appearing of a Ghost of a Man of Guilford for the recovery of a Field for his Child, unjustly detained by his Brother; out of the above-said Letter of Dr. Ezekias Burton, to Dr. H. More.

AN Inhabitant of the before-nam'd Town of Guilford, who was possess'd of some Copy-hold-Land, which was to descend to his Children, or in default of such Issue, to his Brother: He dies having no Child born: And his Wife apprehending herself not to be with Child, which her Husband's Brother ask'd her immediately after his Brother's death: She told him she believ'd she was not, but afterwards proved to be, which when she knew, she went, by the Instigation of Neighbours, to her Brother, and told him how it was with her: He rated her, called her Whore, and told her she had procured somebody to get her with Child, knowing that such a Field must be inherited by the Posterity of her Husband, but her Whoring should not fool him out of that Estate. The poor Woman went home troubled, that not only her Child should lose the Land, but which was worse, that she should be thought a Whore: However she quieted herself, and resolved to sit down with the Loss.

WHEN her time came, she was delivered of a Son, and he grew up, and one Summer's Night, as she was undressing him in her Yard, her Husband appeared, and bid her

her go to his Brother, and demand the Field; which she did, but was treated very ill by him. He told her, that neither she nor her Devil, (for she had told him, her Husband had appeared, and bid her speak to him) should make him forego his Land. Whereupon she went home again. But some time after, as her Brother was going out of this Field homewards, the dead Man appears to him at the Style, and bids him give up the Land to the Child, for it was his right. The Brother being greatly frightened at this, runs away, and not long after, comes to her, and tells her she had sent the Devil to him, and bids her take the Land, and so gave it up, and her Son is now possess'd of it: His Name is *Mat.* he lived in the Service of Mr. *Reading's* Brother for some Years, but he has forgot his Sirname, though he knows him very well.

N. B. Though the Sirname of the Party be wanting, yet he is determinated so by other Circumstances, and the Story so fresh, and told by so credible a Person, that the Narrative is sufficiently considerable as it is. But of recovery of Land to the right Owners, the Story of Mrs. Bretton's Ghost appearing, is an eximious Example, which is as follows.

R E L A T I O N XVI.

The appearing of the Ghost of Mrs. Bretton, for the recovery of some Lands into the Hands of the Poor, taken from them by some mistake in Law or Right, as it is in a Narrative sent to Dr. H. More, from Mr. Edward Fowler, Prebendary of Gloucester. Afterwards Bishop of that Diocese.

DR. Bretton, late Rector of *Ludgate* and *Deptford* lived formerly in *Herefordshire*, and married the Daughter of Dr. S——. This Gentlewoman was a Person of extraordinary Piety, which she express'd as in her Life, so at her Death. She had a Maid that she had a great Kindness for, who was married to a near Neighbour, whose Name, as I remember, was *Alice*. Not long after her death, as *Alice* was rocking her Infant in the Night, she was called from the Cradle by a Knocking at her Door, which opening, she was surpriz'd at the sight of

of a Gentlewoman not to be distinguished from her late Mistress, neither in Person, nor Habit. She was in a Morning-Gown, the same in appearance, with that she had often seen her Mistress wear. At first sight she express'd very great amazement, and said, *Were not my Mistress dead, I should not question but that you are she.* She reply'd, *I am the same that was your Mistress,* and took her by the Hand; which *Alice* affirmed was as cold as a Clod.

SHE added, that she had business of great importance to imploy her in, and that she must immediately go a little way with her. *Alice* trembled, and beseech'd her to excuse her, and intreated her very importunately to go to her Master, who must needs be more fit to be employ'd. She answered, that he who was her Husband, was not at all concerned, but yet she had a desire rather to make use of him, and in order thereunto had several times been in his Chamber, but he was still asleep, nor had she power to do more than once uncover his feet towards the awakening of him. And the Doctor said, that he had heard walking in his Chamber in the Night, which till now he could give no Account of. *Alice* next objected that her Husband was gone a Journey, and she had no one to look to her Child, that it was very apt to cry vehemently, and she feared if it awaked before her return, it would cry itself to death, or do itself mischief. The Spectre reply'd, the Child shall sleep till you return.

ALICE seeing there was no avoiding it, forely against her will, followed her over a stile into a large Field, who then said to her, observe how much of this Field I measure with my feet. And when she had taken a good large and leasurely compass, she said all this belongs to the Poor, it being gotten from them by wrongful means, and charged her to go and tell her Brother, whose it was at that time, that he should give it up to the Poor again forthwith as he loved her and his deceased Mother. This Brother was not the Person who did this unjust act, but his Father. She added, that she was more concerned, because her name was made use of in some writing that related to this Land.

ALICE ask'd her how she should satisfy her Brother that this was no Cheat, or delusion of her Fancy, she replied, tell him this secret, which he knows that only himself and I are privy to and he will believe you. *Alice* having promised her to go on this Errand, she proceeded to

give her good advice, and entertain'd her all the rest of the Night with most heavenly and divine Discourse. When the Twilight appeared they heard the whistling of Carters, and the noise of Horse-Bells. Whereupon the Spectre said, *Alice* I must be seen by none but yourself, and so she disappeared.

IMMEDIATELY *Alice* makes all haste home, being thoughtful for her Child, but found it as the Spectre had said, asleep as she left it. When she had dress'd it, and committed it to the Care of a Neighbour, away she went to her Master the Doctor, who amazed at the account she gave him, sent her to his Brother-in-law. He at first hearing *Alice's* story and message, laugh'd at it heartily. But she had no sooner told him the secret, but he chang'd his countenance, told her he would give the Poor their own, and accordingly he did it, and they now enjoy it.

THIS with more circumstances hath several times been related by Dr. *Bretton* himself, who was well known to be a person of great goodness and sincerity. He gave a large Narrative of this Apparition of his Wife to two of my Friends. First to one Mrs. *Needham*, and afterwards a little before his Death to Dr. *Whichcot*.

SOME years after I received the foregoing Narrative (*viz.* near four years since) I light into the company of three sober persons of good Rank, who all lived in the City of *Hereford*, and I travelled in a Stage Coach three days with them. To them I happen'd to tell this story, but told it was done at *Deptford*, for so I presumed it was, because I knew that there Dr. *Bretton* lived. They told me as soon as I had concluded it, that the story was very true in the main, only I was out as to the place. For 'twas not *Deptford*, but as I remember they told me *Pembridge* near *Hereford*, where the Doctor was Minister before the Return of the King. And they assured me upon their own knowledge, that to that day the Poor enjoyed the piece of Ground. They added, that Mrs. *Bretton's* Father could never endure to hear any thing mentioned of his Daughter's appearing after her death, but would still reply in great anger, that it was not his Daughter but it was the Devil. So that he acknowledged that something appeared in the likeness of his Daughter.

This is attested by me this 16th. of Feb. 1681.

EDWARD FOWLER.

R E L A-

R E L A T I O N XVII.

Of a Dutch Man that could see Ghosts, and of the Ghost he saw in the Town of Woodbridge in Suffolk.

MR. *Broom* the Minister of *Woodbridge* in *Suffolk*, meeting one day, in a Barber's shop in that Town, a *Dutch* Lieutenant (who was blown up with *Opdam*, and taken alive out of the water, and carried to that Town, where he was a prisoner at large) upon the occasion of some discourse was told by him, that he could see Ghosts, and that he had seen divers. Mr. *Broom* rebuking him for talking so idly, he persisted in it very stiffly. Some days after lighting upon him again, he ask'd him whether he had seen any Ghost since his coming to that Town. To which he replied, No.

BUT not long after this, as they were walking together up the Town, he said to Mr. *Broom*, Yonder comes a ghost. He seeing nothing, ask'd him where about it was? The other said, it is over against such a house, and it walks looking upwards towards such a side, flinging one Arm with a Glove in its hand. He said moreover, that when it came near them, they must give way to it. That he ever did so, and some that have not done so, have suffered for it. Anon he said, 'tis just upon us, let's out of the way. Mr. *Broom* believing all to be a Fiction, as soon as he said these Words, took hold of his Arm, and kept him by force in the way. But as he held him, there came such a force against them, that he was flung into the middle of the street, and one of the Palms of his hands, and one knee bruised and broken by the fall, which put him for a while to excessive pain.

BUT spying the Lieutenant lye like a dead Man, he got up as soon as he could, and applyed himself to his relief. With the help of others he got him into the next shop, where they poured strong-water down his throat, but for some time could discern no life in him. At length, what with the strong-water, and what with well chafing him he began to stir, and when he was come to himself, his first words were, I will shew you no more Ghosts. Then he desired a Pipe of Tobacco, but Mr. *Broom* told him, he should take it at his house; for he feared, should he take it so soon there, it would make him sick.

THEREUPON they went together to Mr. *Broom's* House, where they were no sooner entring in, but the Bell rang out. Mr. *Broom* presently sent his Maid to learn who was dead. She brought word that it was such an one, a Taylor, who died suddenly, though he had been in a Consumption a long time. And inquiring after the time of his death, they found it was as punctually as it could be guessed at the very time when the Ghost appeared. The Ghost had exactly this Taylor's known Gate, who ordinarily went also with one Arm swinging, and a Glove in that hand, and looking on one side upwards.

N. B. *This Relation was also sent to Dr. H. More from Mr. Edward Fowler; at the end whereof he writes, that Dr. Burton as well as himself, heard it from Mr. Broom's own Mouth. And I can add, that I also afterwards heard it from his own Mouth at London.*

R E L A T I O N XVIII.

An Irish Story of one that had like to have been carried away by Spirits, and of the Ghost of a Man who had been seven years dead that brought a Medicine to the abovesaid Parties Bed-side.

A GENTLEMAN in Ireland near to the Earl of Orrery's Seat, sending his Butler one Afternoon to buy Cards; as he passed a Field, he, to his wonder, espied a company of People sitting round a Table, with a deal of good chear before them in the midst of the Field. And he going up towards them, they all arose and saluted him, and desired him to sit down with them. But one of them whispering these words in his Ear, *Do nothing this Company invites you to.* He therefore refused to sit down at the Table, and immediately the Table and all that belonged to it were gone; and the Company are now dancing and playing upon Musical Instruments, and the Butler being desired to join himself to them; but he refusing this also, they fall all to work, and he not being to be prevailed with to accompany them in working any more than in feasting or dancing, they all disappeared, and the Butler is now alone.

alone. But instead of going forwards, home he returns as fast as he could drive, in a great consternation of mind. And was no sooner entred his Master's door, but down he falls, and lay some time senseless; but coming to himself again, he related to his Master what had happened to him.

THE night following, there comes one of this Company to his Bed-side, and tells him, that if he offered to stir out of doors the next day, he would be carried away. Hereupon he kept within, but towards the Evening, having need to make water, he adventured to put one foot over the threshold, several standing by. Which he had no sooner done, but they espyed a Rope cast about his middle, and the poor Man was hurried away with great swiftness, they following after him as fast as they could, but could not overtake him. At length they espied a Horseman coming towards them, and made signs to him to stop the Man, whom he saw coming near him, and both the ends of the Rope, but nobody drawing. When they met, he laid hold on one end of the Rope, and immediately had a smart blow given him over his Arm with the other end. But by this means the Man was stopt, and the Horse-man brought him back with him.

THE Earl of *Orrery* hearing of these strange passages, sent to the Master to desire him to send this Man to his House, which he accordingly did. And the Morning following, or quickly after, he told the Earl that his Spectre had been with him again, and assured him that that day he should most certainly be carried away, and that no endeavours should avail to the saving of him. Upon this he was kept in a large room, with a considerable number of Persons to guard him, among whom was the famous Stroker, Mr. *Greatrix*, who was a Neighbour. There were besides other Persons of Quality, two Bishops in the House at the same time, who were consulted touching the making use of a Medicine the Spectre or Ghost prescribed, of which, mention will be made anon, but they determined on the Negative. But this by the by.

TILL part of the Afternoon was spent all was quiet, but at length he was perceived to rise from the ground, whereupon Mr. *Greatrix* and another lusty Man clapt their Arms over his Shoulders, one of them before him, and the other behind, and weighed him down

with all their strength ; but he was forcibly taken up from them, and they were too weak to keep their hold, for a considerable time he was carried in the Air to and fro, over their heads, several of the Company still running under him to prevent his receiving hurt if he should fall. At length he fell, and was caught before he came to ground, and had by that means no hurt.

ALL being quiet till bed-time, my Lord ordered two of his Servants to lie with him, and the next Morning he told his Lordship, that his Spectre was again with him, and brought a wooden Dish with grey liquor in it, and bid him drink it off. At the first sight of the Spectre, he said, he endeavoured to awake his bedfellows, but he told him that that endeavour shou'd be in vain, and that he had no cause to fear him, he being his Friend, and he that at first gave him the good advice in the Field, which had he not followed, he had been before now perfectly in the power of the Company he saw there. He added, that he concluded it was impossible, but that he should have been carried away the day before, there being so strong a Combination against him. But now he could assure him that there would be no more attempts of that nature, but he being troubled with two sorts of sad Fits, he had brought that liquor to cure him of them, and bid him drink it. He peremptorily refusing, the Spectre was angry, upbraided him with great dissingenuity, but told him, that however he had a kindness for him, and that if he would take Plantain juice he should be well of one sort of Fits, but he should carry the other to his Grave. The poor Man having by this time somewhat recovered himself, ask'd the Spectre, whether by the juice of Plantain he meant that of the Leaves or Roots? It replied, the Roots.

THEN it ask'd him, whether he did not know him? He answered, no. He replied, I am such a one : The Man answered, he hath been long dead. I have been dead, said the Spectre or Ghost, seven years, and you know that I lived a loose life. And ever since have I been hurried up and down in a restless Condition with the Company you saw, and shall be to the day of Judgment. Then he proceeded to tell him, that had he acknowledged God in his ways, he had not suffered such severe things by their means. And farther said, you
never

never prayed to God that day before you met with this Company in the Field, and also was then going about an unlawful business, and so vanish'd.

N. B. *This Story was likewise sent from Mr. E. Fowler to Dr. H. More, concerning which, he farther adds by way of Postscript, that Mr. Greatrix told this Story to Mrs. Foxcraft at Ragley, and at her request he told it a second time in her hearing at the Table. My Lady Roydon being then present, inquired afterwards concerning it of my Lord Orrery, who confirmed the truth of it, acknowledging all the circumstances of this Narrative to my Lady Roydon to be true, except that passage, that the Spectre told the Man that he was that day going about an unlawful business. And Mr. Fowler farther adds, that since an eminent Doctor in this City told me, that my Lord told him, that he saw at his own House a Man taken up into the Air.*

Lastly, I find Dr. H. More in a Letter to Mr. Glanvill, affirming that he also heard Mr. Greatrix tell the Story at my Lord Conway's at Ragley, and that he particularly inquired of Mr. Greatrix about the Man's being carried up into the Air above Men's heads in the Room, and that he did expressly affirm that he was an Eye-witness thereof.

RELATION XIX.

The miraculous Cure of Jesch Claes a Dutch Woman of Amsterdam, accompanied with an Apparition.

THE Narrative taken by a *Dutch Merchant* from her own Mouth, begins thus: A miraculous Cure upon *Jesch Claes*, a Woman about fifty years of Age: For this many years well known to myself and the Neighbours. This Woman for fourteen years had been lame of both Legs, one of them being dead and without feeling, so that she could not go but creep upon the ground, or was carried in People's Arms as a Child, but now through the power of God Almighty she hath walked again. Which came to pass after this manner, as I have taken it from her own Mouth.

IN the year 1676, about the 13th or 14th of this Month *October*, in the Night, between one and two of the Clock, this *Jesch Claes* being in bed with her Husband, who was a Boatman, she was three times pulled by her Arm, with which she awaked and cried out, O Lord! what may this be? Hereupon she heard an answer in plain words: Be not afraid, I come in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Your malady which hath for many years been upon you shall cease, and it shall be given you from God Almighty to walk again. But keep this to yourself till farther answer. Whereupon she cried aloud, O Lord! that I had a light that I might know what this is. Then had she this answer: There needs no light, the light shall be given you from God. Then came light all over the Room, and she saw a beautiful Youth about ten Years of Age, with curled yellow Hair, cloathed in white to the Feet, who went from the Bed's-head to the Chimney with a light, which a little after vanished. Hereupon did there shoot something, or gush from her Hip, or diffuse itself thro' her Leg as a water into her great Toe, where she did find life rising up, felt it with her hand, crying out, Lord give me now again my feeling which I have not had in so many years. And farther she continued crying and praying to the Lord according to her weak measure.

YET she continued that day, *Wednesday*, and the next day, *Thursday*, as before till Evening at six a Clock. At which time she sate at the Fire dressing the Food. Then came as like rushing noise in both her Ears, with which it was said to her *Stand*. Your going is given you again. Then did she immediately stand up that had so many years crept, and went to the door. Her Husband meeting her, being exceedingly afraid, drew back. In the mean time while she cried out, my dear Husband I can go again: The Man thinking it was a Spirit, drew back, saying, you are not my Wife. His Wife taking hold of him, said, my dear Husband I am the self same that hath been married these thirty years to you. The Almighty God hath given my going again. But her Husband being amazed, drew back to the side of the Room, till at last she clasp'd her Hand about his Neck, and yet he doubted, and said to his Daughter, is this your Mother? she answered, yes, Father, this we plainly see.

I had seen her go also before you came in. This Person dwells upon *Prince's-Island* in *Amsterdam*.

N. B. *This Account was sent from a Dutch Merchant procured by a Friend for Dr. R. Cudworth, and contains the main Particulars that occur in the Dutch Printed Narrative, which Monsieur Van Helmont brought over with him to my Lady Conway at Ragley, who having inquired upon the spot when he was there at Amsterdam, though of a Genius not at all credulous of such Relations, found the thing to be really true. As also Philippus Limbergius in a Letter to Dr. H. More, sent this Testimony touching the Party cured, that she was always reputed a very honest good Woman, and that he believed there was no fraud at all in the business.*

RELATION XX.

Of an House haunted some thirty years ago, or more, at or near Stratford-Bow, within four Miles of London, and strangely disturbed by Dæmons and Witches.

A CERTAIN Gentleman about thirty years ago, or more, being to travel from *London* into *Essex*, and to pass thro' *Bow*, at the request of a Friend he called at a House there, which began then to be a little disquieted. But not any thing much remarkable yet, unless of a young Girl who was pluck'd by the Thigh by a cold Hand in her Bed, who died within a few days after.

SOME Weeks after this, his occasions calling him back, he passed by the same House again, but had no design to give them a new visit, he having done that not long before. But it happening that the Woman of the House stood at the Door, he thought himself engaged to ride to her and ask how she did? To whom she answered with a sorrowful Countenance; that though she was in tolerable health, yet things went very ill with them, their House being extremely haunted, especially above stairs, so that they were forced to keep in the low Rooms, there was such flinging of things up and down, of stones and bricks through the Windows, and putting all in disorder. But he could scarce forbear laughing at her, giving
so

so little credit to such Stories himself, and thought it was the tricks only of some unhappy Wags to make sport to themselves, and trouble to their Neighbours.

WELL, says she, if you will but stay a while, you may chance to see something with your own Eyes. And indeed he had not stayed any considerable time with her in the Street, but a Window of an upper Room opened of itself, (for they of the Family took it for granted nobody was above stairs) and out comes a piece of an old Wheel through it. Whereupon it presently clap'd to again. A little while after it suddenly flew open again, and out came a Brick-bat, which inflamed the Gentleman with a more eager desire to see what the matter was, and to discover the Knavery. And therefore he boldly resolved if any one would go up with him, he would go into the Chamber. But none present durst accompany him. Yet the keen desire of discovering the Cheat, made him adventure by himself alone into that Room. Into which when he was come, he saw the Bedding, Chairs, and Stools, and Candlesticks, and Bedstaves, and all the Furniture rudely scattered on the floor, but upon search found no mortal in the Room.

WELL! he stays there a while to try conclusions, anon a Bedstaff begins to move, and turn itself round a good while together upon its Toe, and at last fairly to lay itself down again. The curious Spectator, when he had observed it to lie still a while, steps out to it, views it, whether any small string or hair were tied to it, or whether there were any hole or button to fasten any such string to, or any hole or string in the Ceiling above; but after search, he found not the least suspicion of any such thing.

He retires to the Window again, and observes a little longer what may fall out. Anon, another Bedstaff rises off from the ground of its own accord higher into the air, and seems to make towards him. He now begins to think there was something more than ordinary in the business, and presently makes to the Door with all speed; and for better caution shuts it after him. Which was presently opened again, and such a clatter of Chairs, and Stools, and Candlesticks, and Bedstaves, sent after him down stairs, as if they intended to have maimed him, but their motion was so moderated, that he received

ceived no harm; but by this time he was abundantly assured, that it was not meer Womanish fear or superstition that so affrighted the Mistress of the House. And while in a low Room he was talking with the Family about these things, he saw a Tobacco-pipe rise from a side Table, nobody being nigh, and fly to the other side of the Room, and break itself against the Wall, for his farther confirmation, that it was neither the tricks of Waggs, nor the fancy of a Woman, but the mad frolicks of Witches and Dæmons. Which they of the House being fully perswaded of, roasted a Bedstaff, upon which an old Woman, a suspected Witch, came to the House, and was apprehended, but escaped the Law. But the House after was so ill haunted in all the Rooms, upper and lower, that the House stood empty for a long time after.

N. B. *This Story was found amongst Mr. Glanvill's Papers, written to him from Dr. H. More, who says, some three Months before, he had received it from the Party's own Mouth, who was at the haunted House in Bow, and saw the motion of the Bedstaves and Tobacco-pipe, &c. And I very well remember, that about thirty or forty years ago, there was a great fame of an House haunted at Bow, and such like feats as this Spectator saw, was rumoured of it, and the time agrees with that of this Spectator, or Eye-witness of the above recited feats. And a Book was then said to be printed, though I never saw any but one of late with any date of the year, the things then being in fieri, when it was printed. And they seem to refer to the same haunted place, though the Pamphlet names Plaistow for Bow. But the haunting of which the fame went so many years ago, I very well remember was Bow. But whether Bow was talked of instead of Plaistow, it being a place near, and of more note, I know not. And Paul Fox a Weaver, was the Man, whose House was haunted in Plaistow, according to that Pamphlet.*

If the Gentleman that so well remembers the strange things he saw, had not forgot the Man's Name whose House was haunted, (and the strangeness of those things would fix themselves in his Memory, even whether he would or no, when the name of the Master of the House might easily in thirty or forty years time slide out of it)

it) we might be sure whether it were Plaistow or Bow. But I am sure the same went of Bow, though the Pamphlet named Plaistow, and that might make the above-said Party, who told Dr. More the Story, fix the Scene, without all scruple in Bow.

But methinks I hear the Reader complain, that it was a great omission in Mr. Glanvill, that he did not enquire of Dr. More, who this Party was that told him the Story, it seeming an headless Piece without that part. Wherefore I find in a Paper, (whose Title is, Doctor More's Particulars about the Stories) these words in Answer to Mr. Glanvill. That it is Dr. Gibbs, a Prebendary of Westminster, and a sober intelligent Person. And some dozen lines after, Dr. More says, Dr. Gibbs told the Story to myself, and to Dr. Outram, who brought me to him. And I have told you already, that he is a Person of Understanding and Integrity. He has also some Sermons in Print as I take it.

But forasmuch, as it was about three Months after Dr. More had received this Account of the Story from Dr. Gibbs, that he wrote to Mr. Glanvill, it is not to be expected that he related it in the very same words, and in every punctilio as he heard it. But I dare undertake for him, that for the main, and that which makes to the evincing of Witchcraft, and the ludicrous feats of Demons, that he hath committed no Error therein, nor set down any thing whose Substance was not related to him by the Reverend Dr. Gibbs.

R E L A T I O N XXI.

Mr. Jermin's Story of an House haunted, and what Disturbance himself was a Witness of there at a visit of his Wife's Sister.

ONE Mr. Jermin, Minister of Bigner in Suffex, going to see a Sister of his Wife's, found her very melancholy, and asking her the reason, she reply'd, You shall know to morrow Morning. When he went to Bed, there were two Maids accompanied him in his Chamber, and the next Day, he understood that they durst not go into any Room in the House alone.

IN the Night, while he was in his Bed, he heard the trampling of many feet upon the leads over his head, and after that the going off of a Gun, upon which followed a great silence. Then they came swiftly down Stairs into his Chamber, where they fell a wrestling, and tumbling each other down, and so continued a great while. After they were quiet, they fell a whispering, and made a great buz, of which he could understand nothing. Then one called at the door, and said, *Day is broke, come away*, upon which, they ran up stairs as fast as they could drive, and so heard no more of them.

IN the Morning his Brother and Sister came in to him, and she said, *Now Brother you know why I am so melancholy*: After she had ask'd him how he had slept, and he answered, *I never rested worse in all my Life, having been disturbed a great part of the Night with rumblings and noises*. She complained that her Husband would force her to live there, notwithstanding their being continually scared. Whereto the Husband answered, their disturbers never did them any other mischief.

AT dinner they had a Physician with them, who was an acquaintance. Mr. *Jermin* discoursing about this disturbance; the Physician also answered, that never any hurt was done, of which he gave this Instance: That dining there one day, there came a Man on Horseback into the Yard, in mourning. His Servant went to know what was his business, and found him sitting very melancholy, nor could he get any answer from him. The Master of the House and the Physician went to see who it was; upon which, the Man clap'd Spurs to his Horse, and rode into the House, up stairs into a long Gallery, whither the Physician followed him, and saw him vanish in a Fire at the upper end of the Gallery. But though none of the Family received hurt at any time; yet Mr. *Jermin* fell into a Fever with the disturbance he experienc'd, that endangered his Life.

N. B. *Dr. Scot and his Wife heard this Narrative from Mr. Jermin's own Mouth: And I also have heard it from Dr. Scot, who is the Author of that excellent Treatise, Entitled, The Christian Life.*

RELATION XXII.

Contained in a Letter of Mr. G. Clark, to Mr. M. T. touching a House haunted in Welton near Daventry.

S I R,

I Send you here a Relation of a very memorable Piece of Witchcraft, as I suppose, which would fit Mr. *More* gallantly. I first heard the story related to Sir *Fustinian Isham*, by a reverend Minister of his own Experience. Sir *Fustinian* would have had me have gone to the Place, which I could not then do. But a little after, going to visit a Friend, and not thinking of this, my Friend told me the story, the Place being near him, and the principal Man concern'd in the Story being a relation of his, and one that I myself had some acquaintance with. He had occasion to go to this Man's House for some Deeds of Land, and I went with him for satisfaction touching this Story, which I had to the full, and in which I could not but acquiesce, tho' otherwise I am very chary, and hard enough to believe Passages of this nature.

THE Story is this, At *Welton*, within a Mile of *Daventry*, in *Northamptonshire*, where live together Widow *Cowley*, the Grand-mother, Widow *Stiff*, the Mother, and her two Daughters. At the next House but one, live another's Widow *Cowley*, Sister to the former Widow *Cowley*; *Moses Cowley* my Acquaintance her Son, and *Moses* his Wife, having a good Estate in Land of their own, and very civil and orderly People. These three told me, that the younger of the two Daughters, 10 Years of age, vomited in less than three Days, three Gallons of Water, to their great Admiration. After this, the elder Wench comes running, and tells them, that now her Sister begins to vomit Stones and Coles. They went and were Eye-witnesses, told them till they came to Five hundred; some weighed a quarter of a Pound, and were so big, as they had enough to do to get them out of her Mouth, and he profess'd to me, that he could scarce get the like into his Mouth, and I do not know how any should, if they were so big, as he shew'd the like to me. I have sent you one, but not a quarter so big as some of them were. It was one of the biggest

biggest of them that were left and kept in a bag. This Vomiting lasted about a Fortnight, and hath Witnesses good store.

IN the mean time they threw Hards of Flax upon the Fire, which would not blaze though blown but dwindled away. The Bed-cloaths would be thrown off the Bed. *Moses Cowley* told me, that he laid them on a gain several times, they all coming out of the Room, and go but into the Parlour and they were off again. And a strike of Wheat standing at the Beds-feet, set it how they would, it would be thrown down again. Once the Coffers and things were so transposed, as they could scarce stir about the Room. Once he laid the Bible upon the Bed, but the Cloaths were thrown off again, and the Bible hid in another Bed. And when they were all gone into the Parlour, as they used to go together, then things would be transposed in the Hall, their wheel taken in pieces, and part of it thrown under the Table. In their Buttery, their Milk will be taken off the Table, and set on the Ground, and once one Panchion was broken, and the Milk spill'd. A 7 Pound weight with a Ring was hung upon the Spigot, and the Beer mingled with sand and all spoiled, their salt mingled most perfectly with bran.

MOSES's Mother said, that their Flax was thrown out of a Box, she put it in again, it was thrown out again; she put it in again and lock'd the Box, trying by the Hasp or lid, (as they use to do) whether he was fast, it was so. But as soon as her back was turned, the Box was unlock'd, and the Flax was thrown out a gain. *Moses* said, that when he was coming out of the Parlour he saw a loaf of Bread tumbling off the form, and that was the first thing he saw. After a Woman's Patten rose up in the House, and was thrown at them. He heard the Comb break in the Window, and presently it flew at them in two pieces. A Knife rose up in the Window, and flew at a Man, hitting him with the Haft. An Ink-glass was thrown out of the Window into the Floor, and by and by the Stopple came after it. Then every Day abundance of Stones were thrown about the House, which broke the Windows, and hit the People, but they were the less troubled, because all this while no hurt was done to their Persons, and a great many People being in the Room, the Wheat was thrown about amongst them.

I was in the House, where I saw the Windows which were still broken, and the People themselves shewed me where the several particulars were done. The Grandmother told me that she thought that she had lost half a strike of Wheat, and the like happen'd to some Vetches in the Barn. One Mr. *Robert Clark*, a Gentleman being hit with the stones, bid the Baker at the door look to his Bread well, and by and by a handful of crums were thrown into his lap. They could see the things as they came, but no more.

At last some that had been long suspected for Witches were examined, and one sent to the Jail, where it is said she plays her pranks, but that is of doubtful credit. I ask'd the old Woman whether they were free now? she said, that one Night since, they heard great knockings and cruel noise, which scared them worse than all the rest, and once or twice that Week her Cheese was crumbled into pieces and spoiled. I was there about *May-day*, 1658. This is all that I remember at present. I have heard several other Stories, and two or three notable ones lately from Mens own experience, which in reason I was to believe as I did. But in my judgment, this out-goes all that I know of, it having so much of sence, and of the day-time, so many and so credible Witneses, beyond all caval and exception. I will trouble you no farther, but commending you to the Protection of God Almighty, I take my leave,

And rest

Lodington, May
22d, 1658.

Yours,

G. Clark.

R E L A T I O N XXIII.

The Relation of James Sherring, taken concerning the matter at old Galt's House of Little-Burton, June 23, 1677, as follows:

THE first Night that I was there with *Hugh Mellmore*, and *Edward Smith*, they heard, as it were, the washing in Water over their heads. Then taking a Candle and going up the stairs, there

was

was a wet Cloath thrown at them, but it fell on the Stairs. They going up farther, there was another thrown as before. And when they were come up into the Chamber, there stood a bowl of Water, some of it sprinkled over, and the Water looked white, as if there had been Soap used in it. The bowl just before was in the Kitchen, and could not be carried up but through the Room where they were. The next thing that they heard the same Night was a terrible noise as if it had been a clap of Thunder, and shortly after they heard great scratching about the Bedstead, and after that, great knocking with a Hammer against the Bed's-head, so that the two Maids that were in the Bed cried out for help. Then they ran up the stairs, and there lay the Hammer on the Bed, and on the Bed's-head there were near a thousand Prints of the Hammer, which the violent strokes had made. The Maids said, that they were scratch'd and pinch'd with a Hand that was put into the Bed, which had exceeding long nails. They said the Hammer was lock'd up fast in the Cupboard when they went to Bed. This was that which was done the first Night, with many other things of the like nature.

THE second Night that *James Sherring*, and *Tho. Hillary* were there, *James Sherring* sat down in the Chimney to fill a Pipe of Tobacco; he made use of the Fire-tongs to take up a coal to light his Pipe, and by and by the Tongs were drawn up the stairs, and after they were up in the Chamber, they were play'd withal, (as many times Men do) and then thrown down upon the Bed. Although the Tongs were so near him, he never perceived the going of them away. The same Night one of the Maids left her Shoes by the Fire, and they were carried up into the Chamber, and the old Man's brought down and set in their places. The same Night there was a Knife carried up into the Chamber, and it did scratch and scrape the Bed's head all the Night, but when they went up into the Chamber, the Knife was thrown into the Loft. As they were going up the stairs there were things thrown at them, which were just before in the low Room, and when they went down the stairs, the old Man's Breeches were thrown down after them. These were the most remarkable things done that Night, only there was con-

tinual knocking and pinching the Maids, which was usually done every Night.

THE third Night, when *James Sherring* and *Thomas Hillary* were there, as soon as the People were gone to bed, their Cloaths were taken and thrown at the Candle and put out, and immediately after they cried with a very hideous cry, and said, they should be all choaked if they were not presently helped. Then they run up the stairs and there were abundance of Feathers plucked out of the Bolster that lay under their heads, and some thrust into their Mouths that they were almost choaked. The Feathers were thrown all about the Bed and Room. They were plucked out at a hole no bigger than the top of ones little finger. Some time after they were vexed with a very hideous knocking at their heads as they lay on the bed. Then *James Sherring* and *Thomas Hillary* took the Candle and went up stairs and stood at the bed's-foot, and the knocking continued. Then they saw a hand with an arm-wrist hold the Hammer which kept on knocking against the bed-head. Then *James Sherring* going towards the bed's-head, the hand and hammer fell down behind the bolster and could not be found. For they turned up the bed-cloaths to search for the hammer. But as soon as they went down the stairs the hammer was thrown out into the middle of the Chamber. These were the most remarkable things that were done that Night.

THE fourth and fifth Nights there was but little done more than knocking and scratching as was usually.

THE sixth and seventh Nights there was nothing at all, but as quiet as at other houses. These were all the Nights that they were there.

THE things that do follow are what *James Sherring* heard the People of the house report.

THERE was a Saddle in the house of their Uncle *Warren's* of *Leigh*, (which it should seem they detained wrongfully from the right owner) that as it did hang upon a Pin in the Entry would come off and come into the house, as they termed it, hop about the house from one place to another, and upon the Table, and so to another, which stood on the other side of the house. *Jane Gast* and her Kinswoman took this Saddle and carried it to *Leigh*, and as they were going along

along in the broad Common, there would be sticks and stones thrown at them, which made them very much afraid, and going near together, their Whittles which were on their shoulders were knit together. They carried the Saddle to the house which was old *Warren's*, and there left it, and returned home very quiet. But being gone to bed at Night, the Saddle was brought back from *Leigh*, (which is a Mile and a half at least from old *Gast's* house) and thrown upon the bed where the Maids lay. After that, the Saddle was very troublesome to them, until they broke it in small pieces and threw it out into the Highway.

THERE was a Coat of the same Party's, who was owner of the Saddle, which did hang on the Door in the Hall, and it came off from the place and flew into the fire and lay some considerable time, before they could get it out. For it was as much as three of them could do to pluck it out of the fire, because of the ponderous weight that lay on it, as they thought. Nevertheless there was no impression on it of the fire.

OLD *Gast* sat at Dinner with a Hat of this old *Warren's* on his head, and there was something came and struck it off into the dish where his Meat was.

THERE was a Pole which stood in the backside about fourteen or fifteen foot in length, which was brought into the house, and carried up into the Chamber, and thrown on the bed; but all the wit they had could not get it out of the Chamber, because of its length, until they took down a light of the Window. They report that the things in the house were thrown about and broken to their great damage.

ONE night there were two of this old *Gast's* Granddaughters in bed together, they were aged, one of them about twelve or thirteen years, and the other about sixteen or seventeen. They said, that they felt a hand in bed with them, which they bound up in the Sheet, and took bed staves and beat it until it were as soft as Wool, then they took a stone which lay in the Chamber, about a quarter of an hundred weight, and put on it, and were quiet all the Night. In the Morning they found it as they left it the Night before. Then the eldest of the Maids swore that she would burn the Devil, and goes and fetches a fuz Faggot to burn

it, but when she came again, the stone was thrown away, and the cloath was found wet.

THERE were many other things which are too long and tedious to write, it would take up a great deal of time.

THIS which follows is the Relation of *Jone Winsor* of *Long Burton*, she being there three Nights, taken the third Day of *July*, 1677.

SHE heard or saw nothing as long as the Candle did burn, but as soon as it was out, there was something which did seem to fall down by the bed-side, and by and by it began to lay on the bed's-head with a staff, and did strike *Jone Winsor* on the head. She put forth her hand and caught it, but was not able to hold it fast. She got out of the bed to light a Candle, and there was a great stone thrown after her, but it missed her. When the Candle was lighted, they arose and went down to the fire. One of them went up to fetch the bed-cloaths to make a bed by the fire, and there lay a heap of stones on the bed whereon they lay just before. As soon as the bed was made, and they laid down to take their rest, there was a scratching on the Form that stood by them in an extreme manner. Then it came, and did heave up the bolster whereon they laid their heads, and did endeavour to throw them out. At last it got hold on one end of the pillow, and set it quite on end, and there it stood for some considerable time; at last falling down in its place, they fell fast asleep, and so continued all that Night.

THE staff that was spoken of before was *Jone Winsor's*, and she says, she left it below in the Kitchen. She says, that which troubled, did endeavour to kill the People, if it had power. She put them to it, to know the reason why they were so troubled, and they said they knew nothing, unless it was about the business of old *Warren*. She was there three Nights, and the trouble was much after the same manner, nothing that was more remarkable.

THIS is the truth of what I heard them speak from their own Mouths, and they will attest it if called thereunto.

N. B. *A very considerable Story this is, and sufficiently circumstantiated for time and place, saving that the County is not named. The reason whereof I conceive to be, that it was in the very County in which Mr. Glanvill lived, to whom the Information was sent, namely, in Somersetshire. And there are Burtons more than one there, and also Leighs, but this Burton is determined by the space of something more than a Mile and an half's distance from Leigh. So that the Topographical account is sufficiently exact. And the manner of the Narrative is so simple, plain and rural, that it prevents all suspicion of fraud or imposture in the Relator.*

The transporting of things out of one Room into another, and striking and the like by invisible Agents, minds me of Mr. Lloyd's Story, as 'tis called in Mr. Glanvill's Papers, whom in a Letter he tells he may rely upon it for truth, as being sent from a Person of Quality and Integrity in those parts. It is of a House haunted of one Walter Meyrick of the Parish of Blethvaught, in the County of Radnor, some two and twenty years ago. Where, besides strange kind of tunable whistlings in the Rooms, where none was seen to whistle, there were stones flung down out of a Loft of great weight, the doors bolted or barred against them on the inside, when returned from the Church, nobody being within. And at Prayer at home when some of the Women out of fear held one another by the arms, some invisible Power would pluck asunder their arms, whether they would or no. By such an invisible force, one as he was sitting at Supper, - was struck flat to the ground, and a Trencher struck out of the Maid's hand that waited, and a smart box on the ear given to another, no visible thing being near that did it. A Purse lost with two gold Rings, and Six and four-pence in it, the Party complaining thereof, the Purse dropp'd down from the top of the Room, which had no Room over it, and four-pence only in it. That Men were struck down with stones, and yet had no great hurt, shews plainly they were not flung but carried. But there was one beaten with two Staves black and blue, but none to be seen that thus be-laboured him, though in the Day.

We pass by the Frying-Pan, beaten with a little piece of Iron, and tinkling over a Man's head in the Night,

to his being struck down with a stick by Day, while he tended the Goose roasting, which that invisible Striker seemed to have a Plot upon, as also by his knocking a Pickaxe against the lid of a Coffer, to have a design upon a bag of Money. These and the like feats, that Narrative relates, which Mr. Glanvill calls Mr. Lloyd's Story, who assures him he may rely on the truth thereof, he procuring it from a Justice of Peace, who took the Parties Testimonies that dwelt in the House, or upon occasions were present there, and were Eye-witnesses of the strange pranks that were plaid in the place. And there being that congeneracy betwixt James Sherring's Story and this, they mutually corroborate one another.

RELATION XXIV.

Mr. Andrew Paschal, Fellow of Queen's-College in Cambridge, his Narrative of three Nights disturbance at his Father's House in Soper-Lane, LONDON, in August, 1661.

THE first Night's disturbance; There was in Family my Father and Mother, my eldest Brother, and one of my Sisters with a young Maiden Gentlewoman her bed-fellow, (who seemed to be principally concerned) besides a Maid that lay in the same Chamber.

THE Gentlewoman before-mentioned, being in bed with my Sister in a Chamber within that where my Father and Mother lay, (the Maid lying in another bed alone by) there seemed to her then lying awake, to be one walking in the Chamber, by a noise made as of a long gown or some trailing garment brushing and sweeping up and down the room.

By and by, there was a noise of clattering their Shoes under the bed, with a scratching and tugging of the Mat under the bed likewise. This continued for some time, my Sister being awakened heard it, so did the Maid. After this my Mother being called out of the next Chamber where she was up (to prepare a Chymical water which required their being up all Night) came in, they being in a great fright. My Brother
went

went up also, who not gone to bed sat below. A Candle was brought, and the noise ceased while they were in the Chamber. Presently after they were gone out again, and the light removed, the Chamber door (which shuts with difficulty) flew to with a great bounce, it being wide open before, it shook the Room where my Mother was busied about the aforesaid preparation. After this one of the shoes that was by the bed's-side, was flung over the bed with a mighty force against a Press that stood on the other side. This put them to such a fright again, that the Gentlewoman arose. My Brother went into the Room again, and sat up with them all Night.

THIS I received from my Brother, who came to bed to me, (who by reason of some illness had gone to bed first in the Family) early the next Morning. I was confirmed in it afterward by my Mother, upon whose bare assertion I dare confidently believe any thing that shall be related.

THE second Night's disturbance; the next Evening, as we sat at Supper, we all heard a great noise above in the Chamber, at the end of the house, as it were flinging of Chairs and Stools about the Room, or removing of great Trunks. And going up to see, all was still till we came down again: However the Gentlewoman resolved to go to bed again that night in the same Chamber. My Sister went to bed with her, and the rest to their Lodgings, only my Brother and I resolved to sit up some time and expect the event. Within a while after we heard them knock earnestly above, we went both up, they told us there had been the same disturbance as the night before, and something more. For besides the tugging of the Mat under the bed, the bed-cloaths upon them were often tugged and pulled, insomuch as they were fain to hold them hard with their hands to keep them from being pulled off. All was quiet for a little time while we were in the Chamber with a light, but we were no sooner out of the Chamber with the Candle, but the noise under the bed, tugging of the Mat, pulling of the bed-cloaths began again. Moreover something came into the bed, which the Gentlewoman said ran upon her by degrees, and seemed little and soft like a Mole. Upon this

she skreekt out, and we came in again with the Candle, then all was still again.

WE retired often with the Candle, and presently the same disturbance returned, together with a low whispering noise in many places about the bed, but chiefly towards the bed's-head, which we all heard staying in the Chamber, and removing the Candle into the next Room. My Father and Mother arose, and there were none of us but heard all or most part of this, but nothing appeared to us. The thing was continually moving and stirring in some part or other of the bed, and most commonly at the feet, where it usually came up first. At last it came to that boldness that it would make the same disturbance while the Candle was in the Chamber, if but a little shaded behind the door, so that we could sometimes see the Cloaths pull'd and rugg'd, and we frequently saw it heave and lift up the Cloaths upon the bed towards the feet, in a little hill or rising, which both my Brother and I often clap'd our hands upon, perceiving it to move, and withal to make a little clacking noise, which cannot, any more than the former whispering, be express'd in writing. We could not perceive any thing more than the Cloaths, as often as we saw them so moved and heaved up. The Shoes were laid up upon the bed's-tester, the second night, to prevent the clattering which was made with them the night before, and whilst we were standing talking in the Chamber, as I was some distance from the bed, one of the Shoes flew off and hit me lightly on the head, my Hat being on. And another came presently tumbling down after it, none stirring the bed. Afterwards the aforesaid little thing came upon the Gentlewoman so frequently, that if we were but the least removed, she could not lie quiet in her bed. Then she sat up in her bed with a Mantle about her, which when we were retired was pulled at as if it would have been plucked from her. Whereupon she cried out again, and I came into the Chamber again, and was desired to hold fast upon the Mantle about her, which notwithstanding upon removal of the Candle was tugged hard again, which I very sensibly perceived. Whereupon we perceiving no Cessation, my Brother and I continued in the Chamber all that night,
till

till break of day, with a Candle in the Room. The tugging of the Mat under the bed, the heaving of the Cloaths about the feet, and the other whispering noise continuing by fits till light appeared. There was scarcely any of us, especially she herself, that did not conjure that Whisperer, by the most sacred Names, to speak out and tell us its intent, but nothing was to be seen, nor any answer made.

THE third Night's disturbance; the Gentlewoman resolved now to change her Chamber, to try if the disturbance would follow, she did so, my Sister still accompanying of her. My Brother sat up as before below, expecting again what would follow. The same noise was heard this third night, as the night before above in the Chamber. We had not sat long below before we were summoned up with loud knockings again, they were in the same case as before, if not worse. A while after they were in bed in this other Chamber, there was a clattering heard at the door; presently after the same noise under the bed, the same heaving of the Cloaths, and the same whispering, as before. But towards midnight that thing which came into the bed before, came now so often with such ungrateful skipplings up and down upon her, that she often skreekt and cry'd out. It seemed cold and very smooth as she related, and would commonly come in at her feet, and run all upon her by her side to her shoulder. Once she desired me to clap my hand upon her back near her shoulder blade, as feeling it just then come up thither. I did so on a sudden, and there seemed a cold blast or puff of wind to blow upon my hand just as I clapp'd it on her. And one thing more remarkable was this, when the whispering was heard at her bed's-head, after we had many times in vain conjured it to speak and tell us the intent of its whisperings and disturbance, I spake to it very earnestly to speak out or whisper louder. Hereupon it hissed out much louder than before, but nothing intelligible to be heard. At last this disturbance with the thing in the bed being no longer tolerable to the Gentlewoman, my Mother arose, (lying in the next Chamber, and hearing their perplexity) came into her Chamber, and prayed sometime at her bed-side just by her. Whereupon it pleased

pleased God, within a very short time after, to remove all those noises, and that which disturbed her. After that night I cannot tell certainly that there hath been any thing of that nature heard in the house.

N. B. *This Narrative, though it was not among Mr. Glanvill's Papers, yet it being made by an Eye-witness whom I knew to be one of judgment and integrity, I thought fit to insert it. And the rather, because of that passage, that when he clapp'd his hand upon the shoulder of the Gentlewoman where the Ghost was, a cool blast or puff of air seemed to bear or blow against his hand. Which is like Mr. Glanvill's experiment of pressing the linnen Bag in which some Spirit was moving as a living Animal. Which are notable instances of their easy perambulation through porous Bodies. This troublesome Spirit I suspect to have been the Ghost of some Party deceased, who would have uttered something, but had not the knack of speaking so articulately as to be understood. And when they can speak intelligibly, it is ordinarily in a hoarse and low voice, as is observable in many Stories, and particularly in a very fresh Story of the Ghost of one deceased that spoke to Jacob Brent, some two years ago, an Apprentice then to one Mr. Lawrence in the Little Minories; of which to give some brief account, I think fitting for the very same reasons that I have inserted this of Mr. Paschal, namely, that it is from an Eye-witness, and a discreet and well-disposed young Man, as they that know him do testify: and I will set down no more, nor so much as he himself declared or acknowledged, not only to Dr. Cudworth, Mr. Fowler, and Mr. Glanvell, but very lately to myself also, viz.*

That he had Conference with the Ghost of some deceased Party for about a quarter of an Hour: That he had a glimpse of the shape thereof, being called into the Room where it was, by a Voice, saying, Here, here; but that he presently cried out, Good God! let me see nothing: He being so affrighted with the sight. But however, he entertained Discourse with it, for about the time above mentioned; received several things in charge from it to be done, and was commanded Secrecy in some special Matters; but it gave such Instructions, and made such Discoveries as right might be done to some that had been wronged by the

Party

Party deceased. Upon which performance of Jacob Brent, the disturbance of the House ceased: But for about 6 weeks before, Mr. Lawrence's House was miserably disturbed, they being most Nights affrighted with Thumpings and loud Knockings at the Chamber-doors, sometimes with a strange whirling Noise up and down the Rooms, and Clapping upon the stairs. And that Night Jacob Brent sat up in the Kitchen, expecting some conference with the Spirit for the quiet of the House, he heard the Door of the Room above him, that was fast lock'd, fly open, while he was reading in Eusebius, and immediately a swift running down the Stairs, and a great Knocking at the Kitchen-door, which stood ajar, and a chinking of Money on the Stairs, as he passed from the Kitchen towards the Dining-Room over against it, whose Door was lock'd when they went to Bed, but now opened as the Door of the other Room above the Kitchen.

Into this Dining-Room he was invited, as is above-said, by a Voice saying, Here, here; and there he received, and after executed, such Directions as gave quiet afterwards to the House; and he received Thanks from the Ghost, after he had made his Journey abroad to fulfil its desire, at his returning home, with a Promise it would never trouble the House more. And of the Troubles of the House before, the whole Family were witnesses, as also of the Conference of J. B. and the Spirit, that they heard two speak in the Dining-Room, tho' they were not so near to understand what they said, only, they heard J. B. pray to God that he might see nothing.

That the House was really haunted, besides what has been said already, is farther confirmed by Mr. Bamfield, who was desired to lie in the House some Days before this Conference of J. B. with the Spirit; who though he heard no Noises yet felt his Cloaths tuck'd about him, and his Hand kindly stroaked, he being awake all Night. And that this could be no trick of J. B. is farther evident, from that great emotion of Mind he was in after this, for some two Hours, even almost to distraction, and was fain afterwards to be let Blood. But for his constant Temper, he is observed to be, and I take him to be such, of a sober, honest, and sensible Genius; nor is he any Sectarian, but an orderly Son of the Church of England.

And if the Injunctions of the Ghost he conversed with, and common Rules of Prudence, did not forbid the declaring
of

of some particulars, this is an Experiment that might convince the most Incredulous touching such things. But Mr. Glanvill complains, in a Letter of his to Dr. H. More, that this shyness, and tender respect of persons, has hindred him of many a considerable story; as I have also taken notice long since, how mutilate the story of the Shoemaker of Breslaw is made, by reason of Martinus Weinrichius his concealing the Shoemaker's name. But the mentioning of lock'd doors flying open of their own accord, reminds me of Mr. Alcock's Story of a Chest with three Locks, unlocking itself, and flying wide open, and then locking itself again: Which is as follows.

RELATION XXV.

The story of Mr. John Bourne, of Durley in Ireland, about a Mile from Bridgewater, Counsellor at Law.

MR. John Bourne, for his Skill, Care and Honesty, was made by his Neighbour John Mallet, Esq; of Enmore, the chief of his Trustees, for his Son John Mallet, (Father to Elizabeth, now Countess Dowager of Rochester) and the rest of his Children in Minority. He had the Reputation of a worthy good Man, and was commonly taken notice of for an habitual Saying, by way of Interjection almost to any thing, viz. *You say true, you say true, you are in the right.* This Mr. Bourne fell sick at his House at Durley, in the Year 1654, and Dr. Raymond of Oak was sent for to him, who after some time, gave the said Mr. Bourne over. And he had not now spoken in twenty four Hours, when the said Dr. Raymond, and Mrs. Carlisle, (Mr. Bourne's Nephew's Wife, whose Husband he had made one of his Heirs) sitting by his Bed-side, the Doctor opened the Curtains at the Bed's-feet, to give him air; when on a sudden, to the Horror and Amazement of Dr. Raymond, and Mrs. Carlisle, the great Iron Chest by the Window, at his Bed's-feet, with three Locks to it, (in which were all the Writings and Evidences of the said Mr. Mallet's Estate) began to open, first one Lock, then another, then the third; afterwards the Lid of the said Iron Chest, lifted up itself, and stood wide open. Then the patient, Mr. Bourne, who had not spoke in 24 Hours, lifted himself up also, and looking upon the Chest, cry'd: *You say true, you say true, you are in the right, I'll be with you by and by.* So the Patient lay down, and spake no more. Then the Chest

fell

fell again of itself, and lock'd itself, one Lock after another, as the 3 Locks opened; and they tried to knock it open, and could not, and Mr. Bourne died within an Hour after.

N. B. *This Narrative was sent in a Letter to J. C. directed for Dr. H. More from Mr. Thomas Alcock, of Shear-Hampton; of which in a Letter to the said Doctor, he gives this Account. I am, saith he, very confident of the Truth of the Story; for I had it from a very good Lady, the eldest Daughter of the said John Mallet, (whose Trustee Mr. Bourne was) and only Aunt to the Countess of Rochester, who knew all the Parties; and I have heard Dr. Raymond, and Mr. Carlisle, relate it often with amazement, being both Persons of Credit.*

The curious may be inquisitive what the meaning of the opening of the Chest may be, and of Mr. Bourne his saying You say true, &c. I'll be with you by and by. As for the former, it is noted by Paracelsus especially, and by others, that there are Signs often given of the Departure of sick Men lying on their Death beds, of which this opening of the Iron Coffin or Chest, and closing again, is more than ordinary significant, especially if we consider the nearness of Sound and Sense, betwixt Coffin and Coffin, and re-call to mind that of Virgil:

Olli dura quies oculos & ferreus urget
Somnus—

Though this quaintness is more than is requisite in these Prodigies presaging the sick Man's Death. As for the latter, it seems to be nothing else but the saying Amen to the Presage, uttered in his accustomed Form of Speech; as if he should say, you of the invisible Kingdom of Spirits, have given the Token of my sudden Departure, and you say true, I shall be with you by and by. Which he was enabled so assuredly to assent to, upon the advantage of the relaxation of his Soul now departing from the Body: Which Diodorus Siculus, lib. 18. notes to be the Opinion of Pythagoras and his Followers, that it is the privilege of the Soul near her departure, to exercise a fatidical Faculty, and to pronounce truly touching things future. Περγινώσκειν τὰς ψυχὰς τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ ὅν ἂν καίεν ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆ σόφιας χρεισμὸν ποιῶναι. That human Souls prognostick things to come, at what time they are separating from their Body.

RELATION XXVI.

The Appartion of James Haddock, to Francis Taverner, near Drum-bridge in Ireland, comprized in a Letter of Thomas Alcock, to Dr. More.

AT Michaelmas, 1662, Francis Taverner, about 25 Years old, a lusty proper stout Fellow, then Servant at large (afterwards Porter) to the Lord Chichester, Earl of Donegal, at Belfast, in the North of Ireland, County of Antrim, and Diocese of Connor, riding late in the Night from Hilbrough homeward, near Drum bridge, his Horse, tho' of good Mettle, suddenly made a stand; and he supposing him to be taken with the Staggers, alighted to blood him in the Mouth, and presently mounted again. As he was setting forward, there seemed to pass by him two Horsemen, though he could not hear the treading of their Feet, which amazed him. Presently there appeared a third in a white Coat, just at his Elbow, in the likeness of James Haddock, formerly an Inhabitant in Malone, where he died near five Years before. Whereupon Taverner ask'd him in the name of God who he was? He replied, *I am James Haddock, and you may call me to mind by this Token; that about five Years ago, I and two other Friends were at your Father's House, and you, by your Father's appointment, brought us some Nuts, and therefore be not afraid,* says the Apparition. Whereupon Taverner remembering the circumstances, thought it might be Haddock; and those two who passed by before him, he thought to be his two Friends with him, when he gave them Nuts, and couragiously ask'd him why he appeared to him rather than any other. He answered, Because he was a Man of more resolution than others; and if he would ride his way with him, he would acquaint him with a Business he had to deliver him. Which Taverner refused to do, and would go his own way, (for they were now at a Quadrival) and so rode on homewards. But immediately on their departure, there arose a great Wind, and withal he heard very hideous Screeches and Noises, to his great amazement; but riding forward as fast as he could, he at last

last heard the Cocks crow, to his comfort; he alighted off from his Horse, and falling to Prayer, desir'd God's Assistance, and so got safe home.

THE Night after, there appeared again to him the likeness of *James Haddock*, and bid him go to *Elenor Welsh*, (now the Wife of *Davis*, living at *Malone*, but formerly the Wife of the said *James Haddock*, by whom she had an only Son, to whom the said *James Haddock* had by his Will given a Lease which he held of the Lord *Chichester*, of which the Son was deprived by *Davis*, who had married his Mother) and to ask her if her Maiden name was not *Elenor Welsh*; and if it were, to tell her, that it was the Will of her former Husband, *James Haddock*, that their Son should be righted in the Lease. But *Taverner*, partly loath to gain the ill Will of his Neighbours, and partly thinking he should not be credited, but look'd on as deluded, long neglected to do his message, till having been every Night for about a Month's space haunted with this Apparition in several forms, every Night more and more terrible, (which was usually preceded by an unusual trembling over his whole body, and great change of countenance manifest to his Wife, in whose presence frequently the Apparition was, though not visible to her) at length he went to *Malone*, to *Davis's* Wife, and ask'd whether her Maiden name was not *Elenor Welsh*; if it was, he had something to say to her. She replied, there was another *Elenor Welsh* besides her. Hereupon *Taverner* returned without delivering his message. The same Night, being fast asleep in his bed, (for the former Apparitions were as he sat by the fire with his Wife) by something pressing upon him he was awakened, and saw again the Apparition of *James Haddock* in a white Coat as at other times, who ask'd him if he had delivered his message? he answered, he had been there with *Elenor Welsh*. Upon which the Apparition looking more pleasantly upon him, bid him not be afraid, and so vanished in a flash of brightness.

BUT some Nights after (he having not delivered his message) he came again, and appearing in many formidable shapes, threatned to tear him in pieces if he did not do it. This made him leave his house where
he

he dwelled in the Mountains, and betake himself to the Town of *Belfast*, where he sate up all night at one *Pierce's* house, a Shoemaker, accompanied with the said *Pierce*, and a Servant or two of the Lord *Chichester's*, who were desirous to see or hear the Spirit. About midnight as they were all by the fire side they beheld *Taverner's* countenance to change, and a trembling to fall on him, who presently espied the Apparition in a Room opposite to him where he sate, and took up the Candle and went to it, and resolutely ask'd him in the name of God wherefore it haunted him? It replied, because he had not delivered the message, and withal threatned to tear him in pieces if he did not do it speedily; and so, changing itself into many prodigious shapes, it vanish'd in white like a Ghost. Whereupon *Francis Taverner* became much dejected and troubled, and next day went to the Lord *Chichester's* house, and with tears in his Eyes, related to some of the Family the sadness of his condition. They told it to my Lord's Chaplain, Mr. *James South*, who came presently to *Taverner*, and being acquainted of his whole Story, advised him to go this present time to *Malone* to deliver punctually his message, and promised to go along with him. But first they went to Dr. *Lewis Downs*, then Minister of *Belfast*, who upon hearing the Relation of the whole matter, doubted at first of the truth of it, attributing it rather to melancholy than any thing of reality. But being afterwards fully satisfy'd of it, the only scruple remaining was, whether it might be lawful to go on such a business, not knowing whose errand it was; since, though it was a real Apparition of some Spirit, yet it was questionable whether of a good or a bad Spirit. Yet the justice of the cause, (it being the common report the Youth was wronged) and other considerations prevailing, he went with them. So they three went to *Davis's* house, where the Woman being desired to come to them, *Taverner* did effectually do his message, by telling her, that he could not be at quiet for the Ghost of her former Husband *James Haddock*, who threatened to tear him in pieces if he did not tell her she must right *John Haddock* her Son by him, in a Lease wherein she and *Davis* her now Husband had wronged him.

This

This done, he presently found great quietness in his mind, and thanking the Gentlemen for their company, advice, and assistance, he departed thence to his Brother's house at *Drumbridge*: Where, about two nights after, the aforesaid Apparition came to him again, and more pleasantly than formerly, ask'd if he had delivered his message? he answered, he had done it fully. It replied, that he must do the message to the Executors also, that the business might be perfected. At this meeting *Taverner* asked the Spirit if *Davis* would do him any hurt; to which it answered at first somewhat doubtfully; but at length threatned *Davis* if he attempted any thing to the injury of *Taverner*, and so vanish'd away in white.

THE day following, Dr. *Jeremiah Taylor* Bishop of *Down, Connor, and Dromore*, was to go to keep Court at *Dromore*, and commanded me, who was then Secretary to him, to write for *Taverner* to meet him there, which he did. And there in the presence of many he examined *Taverner* strictly in this strange Scene of Providence, as my Lord stiled it; and by the account given him both by *Taverner*, and others who knew *Taverner*, and much of the former particulars, his Lordship was satisfy'd that the Apparition was true and real; but said no more there to him, because at *Hilbrough*, three miles from thence on his way home, my Lord was informed that my Lady *Conway* and other Persons of Quality were come purposely to hear his Lordship examine the matter. So *Taverner* went with us to *Hilbrough*, and there to satisfy the curiosity of the fresh company, after asking many things anew, and some over again, my Lord advised him the next time the Spirit appeared to ask him these Questions. *Whence are you? Are you a good or a bad Spirit? Where is your abode? What station do you hold? How are you regimented in the other World? And what is the reason that you appear for the relief of your Son in so small a matter, when so many Widows and Orphans are oppressed in the World, being defrauded of greater matters, and none, from thence, of their Relations appear, as you do, to right them?*

THAT night *Taverner* was sent for to *Lisburn*, to my Lord *Conway's*, three miles from *Hilbrough*, on his

way home to *Belfast*, where he was again strictly examined in the presence of many good Men and Women of the aforesaid matter, who was ordered to lie at my Lord *Conway's* all night; and about nine or ten a Clock at night, standing by the fire-side with his Brother and many others, his countenance changed, and he fell into a trembling, the usual prognostick of the Apparition; and, being loath to make any disturbance in his Lordship's house, he and his Brother went out into the Court, where he saw the Spirit coming over the Wall, which approaching nearer ask'd him if he had done his message to the Executor also? he reply'd he had, and wondered it should still haunt him. It reply'd, he need not fear, for it would do him no hurt, nor trouble him any more, but the Executor, if he did not see the Boy righted. Here his Brother put him in mind to ask the Spirit what the Bishop bid him, which he did presently. But it gave him no answer, but crawled on its hands and feet over the Wall again, and so vanish'd in white, with a most melodious harmony.

Note, (1.) That *Pierce*, at whose house, and in whose presence the Apparition was, being ask'd whether he saw the Spirit, said, he did not, but thought at that time he had a mist all over his eyes. *(2.)* What was then spoke to *Taverner* was in so low and hollow a voice, that they could not understand what it said. *(3.)* At *Pierce's* house it stood just in the entry of a door; and as a Maid passed by to go in at the door, *Taverner* saw it go aside and give way to the Maid, though she saw it not. *(4.)* That the Lease was hereupon disposed on to the Boy's use. *(5.)* The Spirit at the last appearing at my Lord *Conway's* house, revealed somewhat to *Taverner*, which he would not discover to any of us that ask'd him.

THIS *Taverner*, with all the Persons and Places mentioned in the Story, I knew very well, and all wise and good Men did believe it, especially the Bishop, and Dean of *Connor*, Dr. *Rust*, Witness.

Your humble Servant,

Thomas Alcock.

P. S. *There*

P. S. *There is an odd Story depending on this, which I cannot chuse but tell you. The Boy's Friends put the Trustees and Executor on this Apparition's account into our Courts, where it was pleasant to hear my Lord talk to them on the whole matter. The Uncle and Trustee, one John Costler, forswore the thing, railed on Taverner, and made strange imprecations, and wish'd Judgments might fall on him if he knew of any such Lease; but the fear of the Apparition's menaces by Taverner scar'd him into a promise of Justice at least. About four or five years after, when my Lord died, and the noise of the Apparition was over, Costlet began again to threaten the Boy with Law, &c. But being drunk at Hill-hall by Lisburn, coming home he fell from his Horse, and never spake more. This is a sad truth to my knowledge. T. A.*

RELATION XXVII.

The Story of David Hunter, Neat-herd, to the Bishop of Down and Connor, at Portmore in Ireland, 1663.

DAVID HUNTER, Neat-herd, at the Bishop's house at Portmore, there appeared to him one night, carrying a log of Wood into the Dairy, an old Woman which amazed him, for he knew her not: but the fright made him throw away his log of Wood, and run into the house. The next night she appeared again to him, and he could not chuse but follow her all night, and so almost every night for near three quarters of a year. Whenever she came, he must go with her through the Woods at a good round rate; and the poor fellow look'd as if he was bewitch'd and travelled off his legs. And when in bed with his Wife, if she appeared, he must rise and go. And because his Wife could not hold him in his bed, she would go too, and walk after him till day, though she saw nothing: But his little Dog was so well acquainted with the Apparition, that he would follow her as well as his Master. If a Tree stood in her walk, he observed her always to go through it. In all this while she spake not.

BUT one day the said *David* going over a Hedge into the Highway, she came just against him, and he cry'd out, *Lord bless me, would I was dead; shall I never be delivered from this misery?* At which, *And the Lord bless me too*, says she, *It was very happy you spoke first, for till then I had no power to speak, though I have followed you so long. My name*, says she, *is Margaret — I lived here before the War, and had one Son by my Husband, when he died, I married a Soldier, by whom I had several Children, which that former Son maintained, else we must all have starved. He lives beyond the Ban-water; pray go to him, and bid him dig under such a Hearth, and there he shall find 28s. Let him pay what I owe in such a place, and the rest to the charge unpaid at my Funeral; and go to my Son that lives here, which I had by my latter Husband, and tell him, that he lives a wicked and a dissolute Life, and is very unnatural and ungrateful to his Brother that maintained him, and if he does not mend his Life, God Almighty will destroy him.*

DAVID HUNTER told her he never knew her: *No*, says she, *I died seven years before you came into the Country*, but for all that, if he would do her message, she should never hurt him. But he deferred doing as the Apparition bid him, and she appeared the night after, as he lay in bed, and struck him on the shoulder very hard; at which he cry'd out, and ask'd her if she did not promise she would not hurt him? She said that was if he did her message; if not, she would kill him. He told her, he could not go now, by reason the Waters were out. She said, she was content he should stay till they were abated; but charged him afterwards not to fail her. So he did her errand, and afterwards she appeared, and gave him thanks. *For now*, said she, *I shall be at rest, therefore pray you lift me up from the ground, and I will trouble you no more.* So *David Hunter* lifted her up from the ground, and, as he said, she felt just like a bag of Feathers in his Arms; so she vanish'd, and he heard most delicate Musick as she went off, over his head; and he never was more troubled.

THIS Account the poor fellow gave us every day, as the Apparition spake to him, and my Lady Conway

came

came to *Portmore*, where she ask'd the fellow the same questions, and many more. This I know to be true, being all the while with my Lord of *Down*, and the fellow but a poor Neat-herd there.

Thomas Alcock.

P. S. *It is no small confirmation to myself of the Truth of these two Stories, wherein my Lady Conway is mentioned, that I received two Letters from that incomparable Lady out of Ireland, touching them both; the former is dated, Lisburn, March 3, 1662, wherein she writes thus: I have spoken lately with two simple Country People who have been much perplexed with two several Persons who had died lately: The Stories are too long to relate; but the Circumstances are such, as I know not how to misbelieve the Stories. The Persons cannot be suspected to have any design, and were altogether unacquainted in the Families of them that appeared, and wholly ignorant of those things in them that they now relate, and have charge to solicit the amendment of some miscarriages by some Persons intrusted, which they could never hear of, as is supposed, by any other means. There are many other probabilities, but all evaded by several Persons here. And to give you a taste of their goodly evasions, I will transcribe a Passage out of the other Letter of the said excellent Lady, dated, Lisburn, April 29, 1663. wherein she writes thus: The Relation I sent you of two in this Country, is certainly liable to as little exception (there was mention of the Drummer of Tedworth before) as any one shall meet with; as may appear by the diligent search some have made for a flaw and objection against the Parties, who after all they confess, must needs appear perfectly uninterested, and impossible to have had from any concerned what they have delivered. But they believe, that either Drunkenness, or desperate Melancholy, did by chance enable them to light upon greater Truths than themselves thought of. Thus far that excellent Person. And it was enough for this noble Lady, only to recite the solution of the Phenomenon into Melancholy and Drunkenness,*

ness, it being so trifling and silly, that it wanted no farther refutation, than the mere recital.

That Drink may discover the Secrets of him that is drunk, as the Poet observes, is reasonable enough; but that a Man being drunk, is better capacitated to understand the Secrets of another Man, or of his Family, is so wild a Paradox, that no sober Man can admit it. And what is Melancholy, but a natural Drunkenness when it ferments? And moreover it being but by chance that Melancholy or Drunkenness enables them to light upon such things, why may not Sanguine and Sobriety chance as well to do the same, and not rather better, if there be any betterness in things by chance? But if there be any advantage in fermenting Melancholy, or strong Drink, it is because the Soul is more excited, and made more ready to discover its own more inward furniture, as Men in drink reveal their own Secrets. But the Soul has no innate Ideas of particular things, and therefore the greatest effervescency of Drink or Melancholy will not a jot better dispose her to the knowledge of particulars, but indispose her for the reception of them from without. So blindly do these Witlings philosophize touching things of this nature.

And yet I dare say, this was the very best of their evasions: Which being no better against these two Stories so sifted and examined (to say nothing of others) by a Person of so quick a wit, impartial judgment and sagacity, as I know that excellent Lady to have been, I must confess, that to me it is a Confirmation as strong as I can desire for the main strokes of the Stories, of which I retain some in my memory, having heard a more particular account of them from her Ladyship, presently upon her return from Ireland, some 16 years ago. Nor no doubt but Mr. Alcock has approved himself a faithful reciter of them, as to the main; nor can there any one rightly be deemed more fit and able, he being present at the examination of Taverner, and dwelling at Portmore, with the Bishop of Down, whose Sergeant Hunter was.

R E L A T I O N XXVIII.

The Confessions of certain Scotch Witches, taken out of an authentick Copy of their Trial at the Assizes held at Paisley in Scotland, Feb. 15, 1678, touching the bewitching of Sir George Maxwel.

THE tenor of the Confessions, taken before Justices: As first of *Annabil Stuart*, of the Age of 14 years, or thereby; who declared that she was brought in the presence of the Justices for the crime of Witchcraft; and declared, That on Harvest last, the Devil in the shape of a black Man, came to her Mother's house, and required the Declarant to give herself up to him; and that the Devil promised her she should not want any thing that was good. Declares, That she being entic'd by her Mother *Janet Mathie*, and *Bessie Weir*, who was Officer to their several meetings, she put her hand to the crown of her head, and the other to the sole of her foot, and did give herself up to the Devil. Declares, That her Mother promised her a new Coat for doing it. Declares, That her Spirit's name was *Enippa*, and that the Devil took her by the hand and nipp'd her arm, which continued to be sore for half an hour. Declares, That the Devil in the shape of a black Man lay with her in the bed under the cloaths, and that she found him cold. Declares, That thereafter he placed her nearest himself. And declares, She was present in her Mother's house when the Effigies of Wax was made; and that it was made to represent Sir George Maxwel. Declares, That the black Man, *Janet Mathie*, the Declarant's Mother, (whose Spirit's name was *Landlady*; *Bessie Weir*, whose Spirit's name is *Sopha*; *Margaret Craige*, whose Spirit's name is *Rigerum*; and *Margaret Jackson*, whose Spirit's name is *Locas*) were all present at the making of the said Effigies; and that they bound it on a Spit, and turned it before the fire; and that it was turned by *Bessie Weir*, saying as they turned it, Sir George Maxwel, Sir George Maxwel;

and that this was expressed by all of them, and by the Declarant. Declares, that the Picture was made in *October* last. And farther declares, That upon the third day of *January*, instant, *Bessie Weir* came to her Mother's house, and advertised her to come to her Brother *John Stuart's* upon the night following. And that accordingly she came to the place, where she found *Bessie Weir*, *Margery Craige*, *Margaret Jackson*, and her Brother *John Stuart*, and a Man with black Cloaths, a blue Band, and white Hand-cuffs with Hogs, and that his Feet were cloven. And the Declarant sat down by the fire-side with them, when they made a Picture of Clay, in which they placed Pins in the breast and sides: And declares, That they placed one in every side, and one in the breast. Declared, That the black Man did put the Pins in the Picture of Wax; but is not sure who put in the Pins in the Picture of Clay. Declares, That the Effigies produced, are the Effigies she saw made. Declares, That the black Man's name is *Ejoal*. This Declaration was emitted before *James Dunlop*, of *Husil*, *William Gremlaye*, &c. *Jan.* 27, 1677. *Ita est Robertus Park, Notarius Publicus*, &c.

THE second Confession, is of *John Stuart*, who being interrogate anent this crime of Witchcraft, declared, That upon *Wednesday* the third day of *January*, instant, *Bessie Weir* in *Pollockton* came to the Declarant late at night, who being without doors near to his own house, the said *Bessie Weir* did intimate to him, that there was a meeting to be at his house the next day: And that the Devil under the shape of a black Man, *Margaret Jackson*, *Margery Craige*, and the said *Bessie Weir*, were to be present. And that *Bessie Weir* required the Declarant to be there, which he promised. And that the next night, after the Declarant had gone to bed, the black Man came in, and called the Declarant quietly by his name, upon which, he arose from his bed, and put on his Cloaths, and lighted a Candle. Declares, That *Margaret Jackson*, *Bessie Weir*, and *Margery Craige*, did enter in at a Window in the Cavil of the Declarant's house. And that the first thing that the black Man required was, that the Declarant should renounce his Baptism, and deliver himself wholly to him; which the Declarant did, by putting one hand on

on the crown of his head, and the other on the sole of his foot. And that he was tempted to it, by the Devil's promising that he should not want any Pleasure, and that he should get his heart filled on all that shall do him wrong. Declares, That he gave him the name of *Jonas* for his Spirit's name. Declares, That thereafter the Devil required every one of their consents for the making of the Effigies of Clay, for the taking away the Life of Sir *George Maxwell*, of *Pollock*, to revenge the taking the Declarant's Mother *Fannet Mathie*. Declares, That every one of the Persons above-named gave their consent to the making of the said Effigies, and that they wrought the Clay, and that the black Man did make the figure of the Head and Face, and two Arms to the said Effigies. Declares, That the Devil set three Pins in the same, one in each side, and one in the breast: And that the Declarant did hold the Candle to them, all the time the Picture was making. And that he observed one of the black Man's feet to be cloven; and that his Apparel was black; and that he had a blueish Band and Hand-cuffs; and that he had Hogers on his Legs without Shoes; and that the black Man's voice was Hough and Goustie. And farther declares, That after they had begun the forming of the Effigies, his Sister *Annabil Stuart*, a Child of 13 or 14 years of age, came knocking at the door, and being let in by the Declarant, she staid with them a considerable time, but that she went away before the rest, he having opened the door to her. Declares, That the rest went out at the Window at which they enter'd. Declares, That the Effigies was placed by *Bessie Weir* in his bed-straw. He farther declares, He himself did envy against Sir *George Maxwell* for apprehending *Fannet Mathie* his Mother: And that *Bessie Weir* had great malice against this Sir *George Maxwell*; and that her quarrel was, as the Declarant conceived, because the said Sir *George* had not entred her Husband to his Harvest service; and also declares, That the said Effigies was made upon the fourth day of *January*, instant, and that the Devil's name was *Ejoal*. Declares, That his Spirit's name was *Jonas*, and *Bessie Weir*'s Spirit's name, who was Officer, was *Sopha*; and that *Margaret Jackson*'s Spirit's name was *Locas*; and

and that *Annabil Stuart*, the Declarant's Sister's was *Enippa*; but does not remember what *Margery Craige's* Spirit's name was. Declares, That he cannot write. This Confession was emitted in the presence of the Witnesses to the other Confession, and on the same day. *Ita est.* Robertus Park, *Notarius Publicus*, &c.

THE Confession of *Margaret Jackson*, relict of *Tho. Stuart* in *Shaws*, who being examined by the Justices, anent her being guilty of Witchcraft, declares, That she was present at the making of the first Effigies and Picture that was made in *Fannet Mathie's* house in *October*, and that the Devil in the shape of a black Man, *Fannet Mathie*, *Bessie Weir*, *Margery Craige*, and *Annabil Stuart*, was present at the making of the said Effigies, and that it was made to represent *Sir George Maxwell*, of *Pollock*, for the taking away his Life. Declares, That forty years ago, or thereabout, she was at *Pollockshaw-croft*, with some few sticks on her back, and that the black Man came to her, and that she did give up herself unto the black Man, from the top of her head to the sole of her foot; and that this was after the Declarant's renouncing of her Baptism; and that the Spirit's name, which he designed her, was *Locas*. And that about the third or fourth of *January*, instant, or thereby, in the night-time, when she awaked, she found a Man to be in bed with her, whom she supposed to be her Husband; though her Husband had been dead twenty years, or thereby, and that the Man immediately disappeared: And declares, That this Man who disappeared was the Devil. Declares, That upon *Thursday* the 4th of *January*, instant, she was present in the house of *John Stuart*, at night, when the Effigies of Clay was made, and that she saw the black Man there, sometimes sitting, sometimes standing with *John Stuart*; and that the black Man's Cloaths were black, and that he had white Hand-cuffs. And that *Bessie Weir* in *Pollockton*, and *Annabil Stuart* in *Shaws*, and *Margery Craige*, were at the aforesaid time and place of making the said Effigies of Clay; and declares, that she gave her consent to the making of the same; and declares that the Devil's name, who compeired in the black Man's shape, was *Ejoll*. *Sic Subscribitur, Ita est.* Robertus Park, *Notarius Publicus*, &c.

Now follow the Depositions of certain Persons agreeing with the Confessions of the abovesaid Witches.

ANDR. MARTIN, Servitour to the Lord of Pollock, of the age of thirty years, or thereby, Depones, That he was present in the house of *Jannet Mathie* Pannel when the Picture of Wax produced was found in a little hole in the Wall at the back of the fire. Depones, That Sir George's sickness did fall upon him about the eighteenth of *October*, or thereby. Depones, That the Picture of Wax was found on the—of *December*, and that Sir George's sickness did abate and relent above the time the Picture of Wax was found and discovered in *Jannet Mathie's* house. Depones, That the Pins were placed in the right and left sides; and that Sir George *Maxwel*, of Pollock's pains, as he understood by Sir George's complaining of these pains, lay most in his right and left sides. And depones, That Sir George's pains did abate and relent after the finding of the said Picture of Wax, and taking out of the Pins as is said. And depones, That the Pannel *Jannet Mathie* has been by fame and bruit reputed a Witch these several years by past. And this is the truth as he shall answer to God. *Sic Subscrib.* Andr. Martin.

LAWRENCE POLLOCK, Secretary to the Lord of Pollock, sworn and purged of partial Counsel, depones, That on the—day of *December* he was in the Pannel *Jannet Mathie's* house when the Picture was found; and that he did not see it before it was brought to the Pannal's door. Depones, That Sir George *Maxwel* of Pollock's sickness did seize upon him about the fourteenth of *October*, or thereby, and he did continue in his sickness or distemper for six Weeks, or thereby. Depones, That Sir George's sickness did abate and relent after the finding of the said Picture of Wax, and taking out of the Pins that were in the Effigies. Depones, That by open bruit and common fame, *Jannet Mathie*, and *Bessie Weir*, and *Margery Craige*, are brandit to be Witches. Depones, That the truth is this as he shall answer it to God. *Sic Subscrib.* Lawrence Pollock.

LODOAIC STUART, of *Auchunhead*, being sworn and purged of partial Counsel, depones, That Sir George's sickness fell upon him the fourteenth or fifteenth of *October*,

October, or thereby. Depones, that he was not present at the finding of the Picture of Wax; but that he had seen Sir *George Maxwell*, of *Pollock*, after it was found; and having seen him in his sickness often times before, he did perceive that Sir *George* had sensibly recovered after the time that the said Picture was said to be found, which was upon the 11th or 12th of *December*. Depones, That *Fannet Mathie* and *Margery Craige*, two of the Pannals, are by report of the Country said to be Witches. Depones, That he having come to *Pollock* he did see Sir *George Maxwell*, whose pains did recur, and that his pains and torments were greatly encreased in respect of what they were before the finding of the Picture of Wax. Depones, That upon the 8th of *January* when they left the said Sir *George Maxwell*, of *Pollock*, the Deponent *James Dunlop*, of *Hounsil*, *Allan Douglace*, and several others, did go to the house of *John Stuart* Warlock on *Pollock-shaw*, and there he found a Picture of Clay in the said *John Stuart*'s bed-straw. Depones, That there was three Pins in the said Picture of Clay, and that there was one in each side, and one in the breast: And depones, That being returned to Sir *George*'s house, Sir *George* told the Deponent that he found great ease of his pains, and that it was before the Deponent *Hounsil* and the rest did reveal to him that they had found the said Picture of Clay, and further depones, That this is truth as he shall answer it to God. *Sic Subscrib.* Lodowick Stuart.

THERE follow more Depositions in the Copy, but these are the most for our purpose, and enough to discover that the Confession of those Witches are no Fables nor Dreams.

N. B. THESE Confessions and Depositions are transcribed out of the Copy in the same *Scottish* Dialect that I found them; and several words I profess I understand not, as those for example concerning the black Man's voice, that it was *hough* and *goustie*: But if the voice of this black Man be like that of his who appeared to the Witches whom Mr. *Hunt* examined, they may signify a *big* and *low* voice.

THERE is another *Scottish* Trial of Witches amongst Mr. *Glanvill*'s Papers, with the same general subscription
that

that this has, viz. *Robert Martin*, Clerk to the Justice Court. But that is of too old a date, it being in the year 1590, to comply with the title of our Stories. But it being a true Copy of Record so authentick, though not so fresh, it may haply not be amiss briefly to name some effects, kinds, or circumstances of Witchcraft therein mentioned; such especially as have not occurred in the foregoing Stories; as the giving and taking away power from fundry Mens Genital-members, for which *Jannet Clark* was accused.

THAT which is observable in *John Fiene* is, that the Devil appeared to him not in *black*, but in *white* raiment; but proposed as hellish a Covenant to him as those Fiends that appear in black. As also lying dead two or three hours, and his Spirit tane, (as the Phrase in the Record is) his being carried, or transported to many Mountains, and, as he thought, through the World, according to his own Depositions. His hearing the Devil preach in a Kirk in the Pulpit, in the night by Candle-light, the Candle burning blue. That in a Conventicle of Witches, whose names are specified in the Record, he with the rest at parting kissed the Devil's Breech; the Record speaks more broadly. His skimming on the Sea in a Boat with those of his Gang, and his foretelling the leak in the Queen's Ship, by the help of the Devil. His raising Winds, with the rest, at the King's passage into *Denmark*, by casting a Cat into the Sea, which the Devil delivered to them, and taught them to cry *Hola* when they first cast it in. His raising a Mist at the King's return from *Denmark*, by getting Satan to cast a thing like a Foot-ball (it appearing to *John* like a Wisp) into the Sea, which made a vapour or reek to arise, whereby the King's Majesty might be cast upon the Coast of *England*. His hearing the Devil again preach in a Pulpit in black, who after pointed them to Graves, to open and dismember the Corps therein; which done, incontinently they were transported without words. His opening Locks by Sorcery, as one by mere blowing into a Woman's hand while he sat by the fire. His raising four Candles on the Luggs of an Horse, and another on the top of the Staff of his Rider in the night, that he made it as light as day; and

and how the man fell down dead at the entring within his return home. His imbarquing in a boat with other Witches, and sailing over Sea, and entring within a Ship, and drinking good Wine and Ale there, and sinking the Ship when they had done, with the persons in it. His Kissing Satan's Breech after another Conventicle. His being swiftly carried above in the chasing of a Cat to catch her to cast into the Sea, thereby to raise Winds, according to the prescription of Satan. His pretending to tell any man how long he should live if he told but the day of his birth.

THERE are also several things in *Agnes Sympson's* Witchcraft, such as there scarce occur the like in the foregoing stories. As her skill in Diseases. That the sickness of *William Black* was an Elf-shot. Her healing also of them by Sorcery, and foretelling the party whether he should live or die, and others how long they should live. Her taking the sick party's pains and sicknesses upon herself for a time, and then translating it to a third person. Her use of long scriptural Prayers and Rhymes, containing the main points of Christianity, so that she may seem to have been not so much a white Witch as an holy Woman. And yet it is upon Record that she made a Covenant with the Devil in the shape of a Man, and in such like hellish manner as other Witches do. But when she sought for answers from the Devil upon any occasion, he appeared to her in the shape of a Dog, but the *formula* of her dismissing of him, was, *The charging him to depart on the Law he lives on*, as she did when she dismiss'd him after her consulting him about the old Lady *Edmondston's* sickness; but her invocation was, *Elva come and speak to me*, who came in the likeness of a Dog. Her sailing with her fellow-Witches in a Boat to a Ship, where the Devil caused her to drink good Wine, she neither seeing the Mariners, nor the Mariners her. But after all, the Devil raised a Wind whereby the Ship perished. Her baptizing, and using other Ceremonies upon a Cat; with other Witches, to hinder the Queen's coming into *Scotland*. Her raising of a Spirit to conjure a Picture of Wax for the destroying of Mr. *John Moscrope*.

HITHERTO I have brought but small shreds out of this ancient Record, but I will conclude with a full Paragraph, it containing the Confession of *Agnes Sympson* to King *James* then of the *Scots*: Which is this.

ITEM

ITEM, Fyled and convict for fameckle as she confess'd before his Majesty, that the Devil in Man's likeness met her going out in the Fields from her own House at *Keith* betwixt five and six at Even, being alone, and commandit her to be at *Northbervick-Kirk* the next night. And she past then on Horseback, conveyed by her good-son call'd *John Cooper*, and lighted at the Kirk-yard, or a little before she came to it, about eleven hours at Even. They danced along the Kirk-yard, *Geilie Duncan* plaid to them on a Trump, *John Fien* muffled led all the rest; the said *Agnes* and her Daughter followed next. Besides, there were *Kate Grey*, *George Moilis's Wife*, *Robert Greirson*, *Katherine Duncan Buchanan*, *Thomas Barnhil* and his Wife, *Gilbert Macgil*, *Joh. Macgil*, *Katherine Macgil*, with the rest of their Complices above an hundred persons, whereof there were six men, and all the rest Women. The Women made first their homage, and then the Men. The Men were turned nine times widdershins about, and the Women six times. *John Fien* blew up the Doors and blew in the Lights which were like mickle black Candles sticking round about the Pulpit. The Devil startit up himself in the pulpit like a mickle black man, and every one answered here. Mr. *Robert Grierson* being named they all ran hirdie girdie, and were angry: for it was promised he should be called *Robert* the Comptroller, alias *Rob* the Rower, for expriming of his name. The first thing he demandit was as they kept all promise, and been good Servants, and what they had done since the last time they had convened. At his command they opened up three Graves, two within, and ane without the Kirk, and took off the Joints of their Fingers, Toes, and Neise, and parted them amongst them: And the said *Agnes Symphon* got for her part a Winding Sheet and two Joynts. The Devil commandit them to keep the Joints upon them while they were dry, and then to make a powder of them to do evil withal. Then he commandit them to keep his Commandments, which were to do all the evil they could. Before they departed they kifs'd his Breech; the Record speaks more broad, as I noted before. He had on him ane Gown and ane Hat, which were both black: and they that were assembled, part stood and part sate: *John Fien* was ever nearest the Devil at his left Elbock; *Graymaical* kepted the door.

I have retained the *Scotch* Dialect here also, for the more authentickness of the matter, and have adjoined this large Paragraph, the Confession therein contained being in all probability a more special occasion of King *James's* changing his opinion touching the Existence of Witches, which he was, as is reported, inclinable to think to be but a mere conceit before. For he was then but young, not passing five or six and twenty years of age when this examination was had before him. And part of the third Chapter of his second Book of his *Demonologie* seems to be a transcript of this very Confession. Wherefore this being so considerable an occurrence touching a business of such moment, the bringing in here so old a Story amongst those of fresher memory, will, I hope, bring along with it its own excuse.

THUS have we contrived all the Relations in Mr. *Glanvill's* Papers, which were thought considerable, into this second Part of his *Saducismus Triumphatus*. He once intended to subjoin thereto an answer to *Webster*, *Wagstaff*, and the *Author of the Doctrine of Devils*, as you may observe from the first Section of his *Proof of Apparitions, &c. from holy Scripture*: but partly by bringing in already the chief things in that rude draught begun, into what is here published, and partly by stating the Question truly and with right judgment, he has prevented himself, and made that labour needless. As indeed in a manner it ever was, their Objections against Mr. *Glanvill's* Opinion on these points, being wondrous weak, sorry, and sophistical, and such as it were pity that any Man of Parts, who can bestow his time better, should squander it away in confuting such trifles.

THERE is nothing that makes any least shew of strength, but that touching the palpability of the consistency of the bodies of the Familiars of Witches, as if it weakened our Saviour's Argument to his Disciples for his Resurrection, where he bids them handle him and see, for a Spirit has not flesh and bones as they see him have. And he bids *Thomas* thrust his hand into his side, that they might be sure he was no Spectre or Spirit, but the very Christ with his flesh, blood, and bones as he had before his crucifixion; and they were as well ascertained of this, as sense, nay the surest sense, that

that of a touch, or feeling, could make them, that he had really flesh and bones, and such a temperament as human bodies have. Nor can any cavil avail against this from the familiars of Witches, that will not as well weaken the assurance that we converse with such or such a Friend, but with some Spectre like him; so that the allegation is as weak, as peevish and malicious. And if he should doubt whether it was his real Friend, or some Spectre, if his Friend should offer himself, as our Saviour did, to be touched, searched and felt, would not any body think it were sufficient assurance? But for a perverse Caviler or crazy Sceptick, what is it that will satisfy them?

BUT it may be well said, that there be concomitant considerations that will assure the party it is his Friend and not a Spectre. And are there concomitant considerations here also? The ancient Prophecies, and Christ's own Prediction that he should rise from dead out of the Grave. And that God is a God of truth, and not of unfaithfulness and imposture: Which assurance is of a more high and divine Tenour than that of feeling his Body. And therefore our Saviour saith to *Thomas*; *T H O M A S, because thou hast seen me thou hast believed, Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed*: For it is a sign that a more noble and heavenly principle is awakened in them, that dispels that thick Mist of Sceptical stupor and dulness. It is a sign they are of a more holy, pure, and refined temper. And besides all this, What Spectre ever challenged any one to make such a Trial as this, to feel whether he was not very Flesh and Bone as real Men are, when he would impose upon any? Or how is it proved, though Spirits can bring their Vehicle to a palpable consistency, that they can turn it into such as shall feel of the same articulate palpableness of Flesh, and Bone, and Temperament that are in living Men? Till this appear by confess'd experience to be in the palpable consistency of Familiars or Spirits that transact with Witches, the Allegation is infinitely weak upon that account also, as weak, as spiteful and perverse. But the Hag-Advocates will allegde any foolish thing rather than seem to be able to say nothing.

IN the mean time I think it here seasonable to declare, that though this intended Edition of *Saducismus Triumphatus* had not the happiness to be perfected by the ingenious Author's own hand before his death, yet such Materials he left behind him, and the work in such a forwardness, that things being put together in that order and distinctness which they are, the Discourse may prove as *useful* for the reclaiming Men from *Saducism*, though perhaps not altogether so *delightful*, as if his own hand had the polishing of it. And the publishing of it will also do him that right in the eyes of the world, that (whereas he was suspected haply for some complaisance towards some persons that were over inclinable to *Hobbianism*, to have shrunk from the sense of such noble Theories, with which his mind was enlightned in the morning of his days) it from hence may appear that these things stuck close to him; and that he entertained them with a sincere warmth all along, as is evident from these Papers then private within his own Study-walls. As the profession of them broke out from him most expressly when he lay on his Death-bed, as his intimate Friend Mr. *Thomas Alcock* largely sets down in a Letter written to Dr. *H. More*. And I think that is the time, if ever that Men will speak their thoughts freely, as the Poet hath observed in the like case,

Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo

Ejiciuntur, & eripitur persona, manet res. i. e.

Then 'tis, Men, from their Hearts, their Mind declare,
Cast off their Vizards, shew their faces bare.



A

Supplementary Collection

O F

REMARKABLE STORIES

O F

Apparitions and Witchcraft.

By Dr. Henry More.

RELATION I.

A Transcription of a Narrative, out of Dr. Plott's Natural History of Oxfordshire, of the strange Passages that happened at Woodstock, Anno 1649, when the Commissioners for surveying the Mannor-house, Park, Deer, Woods, and other Demeasnes belonging to that Mannor, sate and lodged there.

THE Commissioners, October 13th, 1649, with their Servants being come to the Mannor-house, they took up their lodging in the King's own Rooms, the Bed-Chamber, and Withdrawing-Room: The former whereof they also made their Kitchen, the Council-Hall, their Brew-house, the Chamber of Presence, their place of sitting to dispatch Business, and a Wood-house of the Dining-Room, where they laid the Wood of that ancient Standard in the High-Park, known of all by the name of the *King's Oak*, which (that nothing might remain that had the name of King affixed to it) they digged up by the Roots. October the 14th and 15th, they had little disturbance; but on the 16th, there came, as they thought, somewhat into the Bed-chamber, where two of the Commissioners and their

Servants lay, in the shape of a Dog, which going under their Beds, did as it were gnaw their Bed-cords, but on the morrow, finding them whole, and a quarter of Beef, which lay on the ground untouched, they began to entertain other thoughts.

OCTOBER 17. Something to their thinking, removed all the Wood of the King's Oak out of the Dining-room, into the Presence-chamber, and hurled the chairs and stools up and down that room. From whence it came into the two chambers where the Commissioners and their Servants lay, and hoisted up their Beds-feet, so much higher than the heads, that they thought they should have been turned over and over; and then let them fall down with such a force, that their Bodies rebounded from the Bed a good distance, and then shook the Bedstead so violently, that themselves confess'd, their Bodies were fore with it.

OCTOBER 18. Something came into the Bed-chamber, and walked up and down, and fetching the Warming-pan out of the Withdrawing-room, made so much noise, that they thought five Bells could not have made more. And *October* 19, trenchers were thrown up and down the Dining-room, and at them that lodged there, whereof one of them being shaken by the shoulder, and awakened, put forth his head to see what was the matter, but had trenchers thrown at it.

OCTOBER 20. The curtains of the Bed in the Withdrawing-room, were drawn to and fro, and the Bedstead much shaken, and eight great Pewter-dishes, and three dozen of trenchers thrown about the Bed-chamber again. This night they also thought whole Armfuls of the Wood of the King's Oak thrown down in their chambers, but of that in the morning they found nothing had been moved.

OCTOBER 21. The Keeper of their Ordinary, and his Bitch, lay in one of the rooms with them, which night they were not disturbed at all. But *October* 22, though the Bitch kennel'd there again, to whom they ascribed their former night's rest, both they and the Bitch were in a pitiful taking, the Bitch opening but once, and that with a whining fearful yelp. *October* 23, they had all their Cloaths pluck'd off them in the Withdrawing-room, and the bricks fell out of the Chimney

Chimney into the Room; and the 24th they thought in the Dining-Room, that all the Wood of the King's Oak had been brought thither, and thrown down close by their Bed-side; which noise being heard by those of the Withdrawing-Room, one of them rose to see what was done, fearing indeed that his fellow Commissioners had been killed, but found no such matter, whereupon returning to his Bed again, he found two Dozen of Trenchers thrown into it, and handsomely cover'd with the Bed-cloaths.

OCTOBER 25. The Curtains of the Bed in the Withdrawing-Room were drawn to and fro, and the Bed-head shaken as before, and in the Bed-chamber, glass flew about so thick, (and yet not a Pane of the Chamber-windows broken) that they thought it had rained Money. Whereupon they lighted Candles, but to their Grief they found nothing but Glass. *October 29.* Something walked in the Withdrawing-Room about an Hour, and going to the Window, opened and shut it; then going into the Bed-chamber, it threw great Stones for about half an Hour's time, some whereof lighted on the High-bed, others on the Truckle-bed, to the number in all, of above Fourscore. This Night there was also a very great Noise, as if forty Pieces of Ordnance had been shot off together. At two several Knocks it astonish'd all the neighbouring dwellers, which is thought, might have been heard a great way off. During these Noises, which were heard in both Rooms together, both Commissioners and Servants were struck with so great Horreur, that they cryed out one to another for help; whereof one of them recovering himself out of a strange Agony he had been in, snatch'd up a Sword, and had like to have killed one of his Brethren coming out of his Bed in his Shirt, whom he took for the Spirit that did the Mischief. However, at length they got all together, yet the Noise continued so great and so terrible, and shook the Walls so much, that they thought the whole Mannor would have fallen on their Heads. At its departure it took all the Glass away with it.

NOVEMBER 1. Something, as they thought, walk'd up and down the Withdrawing-Room, and then made a Noise in the Dining-Room. The Stones that were left before, and laid up in the Withdrawing Room, were all fetch'd away this Night, and a great deal of Glass (not like the former) thrown about again. *November 2.* Came something

into the Withdrawing-Room, treading as they conceiv'd, much like a Bear, which at first only walked about a quarter of an Hour; at length it made a Noise about the Table, and threw the Warming-pan so violently, that it quite spoiled it. It threw also Glafs and great Stones at them again, and the Bones of Horses, and all so violently, that the Bed-head and Walls were bruised by them. This Night they set Candles all about the Rooms, and made Fires up to the Mantle-trees of the Chimneys, but all were put out nobody knew how, the Fire and Billets that made it, being thrown up and down the Rooms, the Curtains torn with the Rods from their Beds, and the Beds-posts pulled away, that the Tester fell down upon them, and the Feet of the Bed-head cloven in two. And upon the Servants in the Truckle-bed that lay all this time sweating for Fear, there was first a little, which made them begin to stir, but before they could get out, there came a whole bowl as it were of stinking Ditch-water down upon them, so green that it made their Shirts and Sheets of that colour too.

THE same Night the Windows were all broke by throwing of Stones, and there were most terrible Noises in the three several places together, to the extraordinary wonder of all that lodged near them; nay the very Coney-stealers that were abroad that Night, were so affrighted with the dismal Thundering, that for haste they left their Ferret in the Cony-burroughs behind them, beyond *Rosamond's-Well*. Notwithstanding all this, one of them had the boldness to ask, in the Name of God what it was? what it would have? and, what they had done, that they should be disturbed in this manner? To which no answer was given, but the noise ceased for a while. At length it came again, and as all of them said, brought seven Devils worse than itself. Whereupon one of them lighted a Candle again, and set it between the two Chambers in the Door-way, on which another of them fixing his Eyes, saw the similitude of a Hoof, striking the Candle and Candle-stick into the middle of the Bed-chamber, and afterwards, making three Scrapes on the Snuff to put it out. Upon this, the same Person was so bold as to draw his Sword, but he had scarce got it out, but there was another invisible Hand had hold of it too, and rugg'd with him for it
and

and prevailing, struck him so violently with the Pummel, that he was itunn'd with the Blow.

THEN began grievous Noises again, insomuch, that they calling to one another, got together, and went into the Prefence-chamber, where they said Prayers, and sung Psalms, notwithstanding all which, the thundering noise still continued in other Rooms. After this, *Novem. 3.* they removed their Lodgings over the Gate, and next Day being *Sunday*, went to *Exwelin*, where how they escaped the Authors of the Relations knew not; but returning on *Monday*, the Devil (for that was the name they gave their Nightly-Guest) left them not unvisited, nor on the *Tuesday* following, which was the last Day they stay'd.

N. B. *That this Fact is true, we have all Assurance desirable, from what the Writer of the Natural History of Oxfordshire declares, before he comes to the Narrative itself, viz. That he had several Relations put into his Hands, and one of them written by a learned and faithful Person, then living upon the place. Which was confirmed to him by Eye-witnesses of many of the particulars, and all of them by one of the Commissioners themselves, who ingenuously confess'd to him, that he could not deny but that what was written by that Person above mentioned, was all true. So that for matter of Fact there can be no doubt; only the Historian makes a scruple, which is much according to the Mode of this Age, Whether all these pranks might not be plaid by Combination. It being a genteel thing, and much in the Fashion, not to seem over credulous, that any such things are done by any Dæmons or Spirits. Yet the Nature of some of these Exploits here mentioned, extorts a Confession from him, even whether he will or no, that they are not reconcileable to Juggling.*

Such, says he, are, (1st.) the extraordinary noises beyond the power of Man to make without such Instruments as were not there. (2d.) The tearing down and splitting the bed-posts, and putting out so many Candles, and so great Fires, no body knows how. (3d.) A visible shape seen of an Horse's Hoof treading out a Candle. And (4th) A tugging with one of them for his Sword, by an invisible Hand, by which I suppose is meant, an unperceptible Hand; for the Hand must needs be invisible, the Candle being put out in that season of the Year; but it was such an Hand, as if the Candle had been light, could not have been seen; forasmuch, as

though he felt in the Dark that tugging for his Sword, he could not feel nor lay hold on the Hand or Arm, or any part of any palpable Person that tugged with him. This may be said, if this tugging for the Sword was far in the Night, about or past Midnight; but if it was earlier in the Night, the Party might have seen the Hand that tugged for the Sword, if it had not been a Hand of its own nature invisible: For the Moon was at least seven or eight Days old, if I compute right, out of the second Ptolemaick Tables in N. Mulerius.

These indeed are the most material Arguments to prove that all here was not Juggling or Combination. And indeed how could it be Combination, when as the story runs upon one Person all along, calling it the Thing or Something? So that it seems all to be performed by one Person or Power. Besides, these Artists in waggery, how could they train up a Dog to know bed-cords, and forbear eating of Beef, when it lay so fairly for him on the Floor? And an operose Business, and how little worth the while for any single Person to remove all the Wood of the King's Oak out of one Room into another? And more unlikely that he could make such a noise, as if he did it, when he did it not. And the flinging of Trenchers and Stones in such numbers near Men, and hurting none by them, seems to me not probable to be within the skill of an ordinary Man to perform; as also to make such a noise as if whole Arm-fulls of the King's Oak were flung down by their beds-sides, on the Floor of their Chamber, whereas not one stick was found to be cast there.

The whining also, and fearful Yelp of the Bitch, was a shrewd sign of the approach, not of an ordinary Man, but of some evil thing, as the vulgar call it. And what a skilful Wag must he be, that could imitate so the Gate of a Bear, as if such a Beast was come into the Room; or have such strength as to cleave the Feet of a bed-stead into two, without Axe or Saw? And did these Wags so combine, as some to set Ladders to climb to the top of the Chimney, to fling down Bricks, while others play'd other tricks in the Chamber? The whole Texture in a manner of the story is such, that it argues the things not done by Combination and Waggery, but by the frolick Activity of some Spirits or Dæmons. And to conclude; how exceeding improbable is it, that the Parties in the House, after they had been twice or thrice

molested

molested would not make their Doors so fast, that no Man could come at them, and that they were not so well weaponed, that no Man single would venture his Person only to play many odd tricks and frolicks to terrify and scare them, who, though he escaped being killed upon the spot, might be apprehended, and severely punish'd, they having got the Power on their side, though not the Right, whatever Mr. Hobbes may judge in these Cases.

Wherefore it is manifest, that these pranks were play'd by Dæmons, as that learned Physician Dr. Willis, many Years ago did readily acknowledge to me, and avouched such things as are here related in the story, to be undoubtedly true, when I had the opportunity of conversing with him at my Lord Conway's at Ragley in Warwickshire.

RELATION II.

Another Transcription from Dr. Plott's History, of a strange Relation touching the Family of one Captain Wood, late of Bampton, now Brize-norton, Captain in the late Wars for the King; what strange Knockings used to be heard a little before the Death of those of that Family.

THE first knocking that was heard, or at least observ'd, was about the Year after the Restauration of the King, in the Afternoon, a little before Night, as it was apprehended by Mrs. *Eleanor Wood*, Mother to Captain *Basil Wood*, who only heard it, none being then by, or about the House but herself; at which she was very much disturbed, thinking it boded some ill to her or hers, and within fourteen Nights after, she had News of the Death of her Son-in-law, Mr. *George Smith*, who died in London.

ABOUT three Years after that, there were three great knocks given very audibly to all that were then in the House, viz. to the forefaid Mrs. *Eleanor Wood*, Mr. *Basil Wood*, and his Wife Mrs. *Hester*, and some Servants. Which knocks were so remarkable, that one of the Maids came from the Well, which was about twenty Yards from the place, to see what was the matter. And Mrs. *Eleanor Wood*, and another Maid that was within the House, saw great Pans of Lard shake and totter so upon a Shelf in the Milk house, that they were like to fall down. Upon this violent

violent knocking, Mr. *Basil Wood* and his Wife, being then in the Hall, came presently into the Milk-house to their Mother; where finding her somewhat disturbed, and enquiring the reason, she replied; *God Almighty only knew the matter, she could tell nothing; but she heard the knocking*; which being within Doors, Mr. *Basil Wood* concluded must be for some in the Family at home, that upon the Door being for a Friend abroad, which accordingly fell out, three of the Family, according to the number of the knocks, dying within little more than half a Year after, viz. Mrs. *Hester Wood*, Wife to Mr. *Basil Wood*, a Child of Mr. *Wood's* Sister, and Mrs. *Eleanor Wood* his Mother.

ABOUT August, 1674, Mr. *Basil Wood*, Junior, Son of *Basil* afore-said, living at *Exeter* in *Devonshire*, heard the same kind of knocking; at which being disturbed, he wrote word of it to his Father here at *Bampton* in *Oxfordshire*, viz. That on *Sunday*, he and his Wife, and her Sister, and his Brother, did distinctly here upon a Table in their Chamber, as they stood by it, two several knocks, struck as it were with a Cudgil, one of them before, and the other after Morning-Prayer, a little before Dinner, which Letter was shewn by Mr. *Wood*, Senior, (as the other knockings before the Deaths of any that died were beforehand told) to several neighbouring Gentlemen. After which, within about fourteen Days, Mrs. *Hester Wood*, the second Wife of Mr. *Basil Wood*, Senior, and about a quarter of a Year after, her Father, Mr. *Richard Lisset*, died both at *Bampton*, since which time they have heard nothing as yet.

N. B. These prognostick signs before the Death of some Men, is a thing noted by Historians, and Philosophers; which are made sometimes by some Apparition of some deceased Person of the same Family, or by some other Spectre, sometimes by an audible Voice calling the Party by Name; which I heard to have happened to some Seamen upon the Sea: Sometimes by Musick, as I heard credibly reported, of a whole Family that died one after another in a little time; and ever some while before any of the House fell sick, there was Musick heard to go from the House (tho' nothing seen) playing all along, which several People out of curiosity would follow, who observed it to pass through the Field till it came to a Wood, and there they left it or lost it. This happen'd in Suffolk, and was told for a certain Truth, to

a Friend of mine, by Mr. Samfon, not long since Fellow of King's-College here in Cambridge. Sometimes the appearance of Lights presages the Death of some of a Family, and the number according to the number of Lights. Which happened a very few Years ago to a Family of great Quality in Ireland, three Lights dancing upon a place they call Fairy-Mount. I spoke with one that was a Spectator thereof for half an Hour together, and observed the Lights, tho' mov'd swiftly, how their flames were not cast Horizontally, but went straight up to the Zenith, who noted also, that two of the Family, since that Sign, were lately dead already, and suspected a third would follow, which accordingly fell out the same Year, a little while after. The Story I have set down more compleatly in my Scholia upon Chap. 8. Book 3. of my Immortality of the Soul. So that this hint is enough here.

PARACELsus, that fanciful Physician, imputes all to the officiousness of the Stars, that give these Signs, but what Beam of a Star could give such a Rap upon the Table, as is recorded to have hap'ned in Captain Wood's Family? Certainly these things cannot be done but by the activity of Dæmons or Spirits. And this present Example is as instructive, or more, than any of that strange Statick or Syftaltick Power, that Spirits have to give such a momentary firmness or hardness to their Vehicles, as to make such a smart Noise, as if it were made with Wood or Metal. But it is not my scope to philosophize here about these things, but only to tell the Stories. And there is a Passage in the following Story I shall set down, which is an eminent Example of this Syftaltick Power of Spirits, viz. an Arm seen from the Hand to the Elbow, striking such a stroke upon the Floor, that it made the very Walls of the House to shake with it.

RELATION III.

A remarkable Story touching the stirs made by a Dæmon in the Family of one Gilbert Campbel, by Profession a Weaver, in the old Parish of Glenluce, in Galloway in Scotland.

IT happened in *October*, 1654, that after one *Alexander Agnew*, a bold and sturdy Beggar, who afterwards was hang'd at *Dumfries*, for Blasphemy, had threatened hurt to *Gilbert Campbel's* Family, because he had not gotten such an Alms as he required; the said *Gilbert* was oftentimes hinder'd in the exercise of his Calling, all his working Instruments being, some of them broken, some of them cut, and yet could not know by what means this hurt was done. Which piece of trouble did continue till about the middle of *November*; at which time the Devil came with new and extraordinary Assaults, by throwing of Stones in at Doors and Windows, and down through the Chimney-head, which were of great quantity, and thrown with great force, yet by God's good Providence there was not one Person in the Family hurt or suffer'd damage thereby. This piece of new and sore Trouble, did necessitate Mr. *Campbel* to reveal that to the Minister of the Parish, and to some other Neighbours and Friends, which hitherto he had endur'd secretly. Yet notwithstanding this, his Trouble was enlarged; for not long after he found oftentimes his Warp and Threads cut as with a pair of Scissors, and the Reed broken; and not only this, but their Apparel cut after the same manner, even while they were wearing them, their Coats, Bonnets Hoes, Shoes, but could not discern how, or by what means. Only it pleas'd God to preserve their Persons, that the least harm was not done. Yet in the Night-time they wanted liberty to sleep, something coming and pulling their Bed-cloaths and Linnens off them, and leaving their Bodies naked.

NEXT, their Chests and Trunks were open'd, and all things in them strew'd here and there: Likewise the parts of the working Instruments that had escap'd, were carried away, and hid in holes and bores of the House were hardly they could be found again: Nay, whatever piece of Cloth or Household-stuff was in any part of the House, it was carried away, and so cut and abused, that the Good man was necessitated with all haste and speed to remove, and to transport the rest to a Neighbour's House and he himself compell'd

compell'd to quit the Exercise of his calling, whereby only he maintained his Family. Yet he resolv'd to remain in the House for a season. During which time some Persons thereabout, not very judicious, counsell'd him to send his Children out of the Family, here and there, (to try whom the trouble did most follow, assuring him that this trouble was not against all the Family, but against some one Person or other in it) whom he too willingly obey'd. Yet for the space of four or five Days after, there were no remarkable Assaults as before.

THE Minister hearing thereof, shewed him the evil of such a course, and assured him, that if he repented not, and call'd back his Children, he might not expect that his Trouble would end in a right way. The Children that were nigh by, being called home, no Trouble followed, till one of his Sons, called *Thomas*, that was farthest off, came home. Then did the Devil begin afresh; for upon the Lord's Day following, in the afternoon, the House was set on Fire, but by his Providence, and the help of some People going home from Sermon, the Fire was extinguish'd, and the House saved, not much loss being done. And the *Monday* after being spent in private Prayer and Fasting, the House was again set on Fire upon the *Tuesday*, about nine of the Clock in the Morning; yet by Providence, and the help of Neighbours, it was saved before any harm was done.

MR. CAMPBELL being thus wearied and vexed, both in the Day and in the Night, went to the Minister, desiring him to let his Son *Thomas* abide with him for a time, who condescended, but withal assured him, that he would find himself deceived, and so it came to pass; for notwithstanding that the Child was without the Family, yet were they that remained in it sore troubled, both in the Day-time, and in the Night-season, so that they were forc'd to wake till Midnight, and sometimes all the Night over. During which time, the Persons within the Family suffered many Losses, as the cutting of their Cloaths, the throwing of Peits, the pulling down of Turf and Feal from the Roof and Walls of the House, and the stealing of their Apparel, and the pricking of their Flesh and Skin with Pins. The Presbytery having convened at the place for a solemn Humiliation, persuaded *Gilbert Campbell* to call back his Son *Thomas*, notwithstanding whatsoever hazard

hazard might follow. The Boy returning home, affirmed, that he heard a Voice speak to him, forbidding him to enter within the House, or into any other place where his Father's Calling was exercised. Yet he entered, but was sore abused, till he was forced to return to the Minister's House again.

UPON *Monday* the 12th of *February*, the rest of the Family began to hear a Voice speak to them, but could not well know from whence it came. Yet from Evening till Midnight, much vain Discourse was kept up with the Devil, and many idle and impertinent Questions proposed without that due Fear of God that should have been upon their Spirits under so rare and extraordinary a Trial. The Minister hearing of this, went to the House upon the *Tuesday*, being accompanied with some Gentlemen, who after Prayer was ended, heard a Voice speaking out of the Ground, from under a Bed, in the proper Country Dialect, saying, *Would you know the Witches of Glenluce, I will tell you them*, and so related four or five Persons Names, that went under an evil report. The said *Gilbert* informed the Company, that one of them was dead long ago. The Devil answered, *It is true, she is dead long ago, yet her Spirit is living with us in the World*. The Minister reply'd, saying: *The Lord rebuke thee Satan, and put thee to silence, we are not to receive any Information from thee, whatsoever Fame any Persons go under; thou art but seeking to seduce this Family, for Satan's Kingdom is not divided against itself*.

AFTER which, all went to Prayer again; which being ended, (for during the time of Prayer, no trouble was made) the Devil with many Threatnings, boasted, and terrified the Lad *Thomas*, who had come back that Day with the Minister, that if he did not depart out of the House, he would set all on Fire. The Minister answered, and said, *The Lord will preserve the House and the Boy too, seeing he is one of the Family, and hath God's Warrant to tarry in it*. The Devil answered: *He shall not get liberty to stay, he was once put out already, and shall not abide here, tho' I should persue him to the end of the World*. The Minister reply'd, *The Lord will stop thy Malice against him*.

AND

AND then they all prayed again, which being ended, the Devil said, *Give me a Spade and a Shovel, and depart from the House for 7 Days, and I shall make a Grave and lie down in it, and shall trouble you no more.* The Good-man answered, *Not so much as a Straw shall be given thee, through God's Assistance, even tho' that would do it.* The Minister also added, *God shall remove thee in due time.* The Devil answered, *I will not remove for you, I have my Commission from Christ, to tarry and vex this Family.* The Minister answered, *A Permission thou hast indeed, but God will stop it in due time.* The Devil reply'd, *I have (Mes John) a Commission that perhaps will last longer than your own.* After which the Minister and the Gentlemen arose, and went to the place where the Voice seemed to come from, to try if they could find any thing. And after diligent search, nothing being found, the Gentlemen began to say, *We think this Voice speaks out of the Children, for some of them were in their Beds.* The Devil answered, *You lie, God shall judge you for your Lying, and I and my Father will come and fetch you to Hell with Warlock Thieves.* And so the Devil discharg'd the Gentlemen to speak any more; saying, *Let him speak that hath a Commission, (meaning the Minister) for he is the Servant of God.*

THE Gentlemen returning back with the Minister, they sat down near to the place whence the Voice seemed to come from, and then he spake to them after this manner, *The Lord will rebuke this Spirit in his own time, and cast it out.* The Devil answering, said, *It is written in the 9th of Mark, The Disciples could not cast him out.* The Minister reply'd, *What the Disciples could not do, yet the Lord having heightned the Parents Faith for his own Glory, did cast him out, and so shall he thee.* The Devil reply'd, *It is written in the 4th of Luke, And he departed, and left him for a season.* The Minister said, *The Lord in the Days of his Humiliation, not only got the Victory over Satan in the Assault in the Wilderness, but when he came again his success was not better. For it is written, John 14. Behold the Prince of this World cometh, and hath nothing in me. And being now in Glory, will fulfil, his Promise, and God shall bruise Satan under your*

your Feet shortly. Rom. 16. The Devil answered, It is written, Mat. 25. There were ten Virgins, five Wise and five Foolish, and the Bridegroom came, the foolish Virgins had no Oyl in their Lamps, and they went unto the Wise to seek Oyl, and the Wise said, Go and buy for yourselves, and while they went, the Bridegroom came, and entered in, and the Door was shut; and the foolish Virgins were sent to Hell-fire. The Minister answer'd, The Lord knows the sincerity of his Servants, and tho' there be Sin and Folly in us here, yet there is a Fountain opened to the House of David, for Sin and for Uncleanness; and when he hath wash'd us there, and pardoned all our Sins for his Names sake, he will cast the unclean Spirit out of the Land. The Devil answered, and said, That place of Scripture is written in the 13th of Zachariah. In that day I will cause the Prophets and the unclean Spirit to pass out of the Land; but afterwards it is written, I will smite the Shepherd, and the Sheep shall be scattered. The Minister answer'd, Well are we that our blessed Shepherd was smitten, and thereby hath bruised thy Head; and albeit in the Hour of his Sufferings, his Disciples forsook him, Mat. 26. yet now having ascended on high, he sits in Glory, and is preserving, gathering in, and turning his Hand upon his little ones, and will save his poor ones in this Family, from thy Malice.

THE Minister returning back a little, and standing upon the Floor, the Devil said, I knew not these Scriptures till my Father taught me them. I am an evil Spirit, and Satan is my Father, and I am come to vex this House: And presently there appeared a naked Hand and an Arm from the Elbow down, beating upon the Floor, till the House did shake again, and also the Devil utter'd a most fearful and loud Cry, saying, Come up Father, come up, I will send my Father among you. See there he is behind your Backs. The Minister said, I saw indeed an Hand and Arm when the Stroak was given and heard. The Devil said to him, Saw you that, it was not my Hand, it was my Father's, my Hand is more black in the Loof. Would you see me, put out the Candle then, and I shall come in the House among you like Fire-balls. Af-

ter which, all went to Prayer, during which time it did no harm, neither at any other time when God was worshiped. When Prayer was ended, the Devil said, (*Mes John*) *If the Good-man's Son's Prayers, at the College of Glascow, did not prevail more with God than yours, my Father and I had wrought a Mischief here ere now.* To which one of the Gentlemen reply'd, though a Check had been given him before. *Well, well, I see you confess there is a God, and that Prayer prevails with him, and therefore we must pray to God, and will commit the Event to him.* To which the Devil reply'd, *You, Sir, you speak of Prayer with your Broad-lip Hat, (for the Gentleman had lately gotten a new Hat in the Fashion, with broad Lips) I will bring a Pair of Sheers from my Father that shall clip the Lips of it a little.*

THE Night now being far spent, it was thought fit every one should withdraw to his own home. Then did the Devil cry out fearfully, *Let not the Minister go home, I shall burn the House if he go.* And many other ways did he threaten. And after the Minister was gone forth, the Good-man being instant with him to tarry; whereupon he returned, all the rest of the Company going home. Then said the Devil to the Minister, *You have done my bidding. Not thine,* answer'd he, *but in obedience to God have I returned, to bear this Man Company, whom thou dost afflict.* Then did the Minister call upon the Name of God; and when Prayer was ended, he discharged Mr. *Campbel*, and all the Persons of the Family from opening their Mouths in one Word to the evil Spirit; and when it spake, that they should only kneel down and speak to God. The Devil then roared mightily, and cryed out, *What will ye not speak to me, I shall burn the House, I shall strike the Bairns, and do all manner of Mischief.* But after that time no answer was made to it, and so for a long time no speech was heard. After this, the said *Gilbert* suffer'd much loss, and had many sad Nights, not two Nights in one Week free, and thus it continued till *April*; from *April* to *July* he had some respite and ease. But after he was molested with new Assaults, and even their Victuals were so abused, that the Family was in

hazard of starving, and that which they did eat, gave them not the ordinary satisfaction they were wont to find.

IN this sore and sad Affliction, Mr. *Campbel* resolv'd to make his address to the Synod of Presbyters, for Advice and Counsel what to do, which was appointed to convene in *October*, 1655, namely, whether to forsake the House and Place, or not. The Synod by their committee, appointed to meet at *Glenluce* in *Feb.* 1656, thought fit that a solemn Humiliation should be kept through all the bounds of the Synod, and amongst other causes, to request God in behalf of that poor afflicted Family; which being carefully done, the Event was, through the Prayers of his People, that his Trouble grew less till *April*, and from *April* to *August* he was altogether free. About which time the Devil began with new Assaults, and taking the ready Meat that was in the House, did sometimes hide it in holes by the Door-posts, and at other times did hide it under the Beds, and sometimes among the Bed-cloaths, and under the Linnens, and at last, did carry it quite away, till nothing was left there, save Bread and Water to live by. After this he exercised his Malice and Cruelty against all the Persons in the Family, in wearying them in the Night-time, with stirring and moving through the House, so that they had no rest for noise, which continued all the Month of *August*, after this manner. After which time the Devil grew yet worse, and began with terrible Roarings and terrifying Voices, so that no Person could sleep in the House in the Night-time, and sometimes did vex them with casting of Stones, striking them with Staves on their Beds, in the Night-time; and upon the 18th of *September*, about Midnight, he cryed out with a loud Voice, *I shall burn the House*, and about 3 or 4 Nights after, he set one of the Beds on Fire, which was soon extinguished without any prejudice, except the Bed itself, and so he continued to vex them.

N. B. *This Narrative I have in a manner Transcribed Verbatim, out of the Miscellaneous Observations of Mr. G. Sinclair, which are added to his Treatise of Hydrostaticks; which nothing but the certainty of the Truth thereof, and usefulness for the refuting*
of

of Sadducism, could have tempted him to insert, it being an Observation so Heterogeneous to all the rest. And therefore I thought it worth the while to reduce it into its more proper place, himself acknowledging it to be something an unsuitable piece to the Contexture of the rest of his Book, but that he put it in, only to convince the incredulous World of the Existence of Spirits, whose being he conceives it does more than probably evince, that is to say, demonstratively, supposing it true. Which that it is, the Narrative itself seems sufficiently to make good, the stirs there made being so long, and so publick, and so repeatedly, and the things writ by Mr. Cambel's own Son, who knew them exactly, and I have heard the Truth of the Story averr'd with all assurance myself by some of that Country. And the Narration is so simple and plain, and without design, (it being rather a Colluctation of Mes John and the Presbitery on one side, and the foul Fiend with his black Loofs assisted by Satan his Father on the other side, than any clear Victory) that that ought to gain believe thereto. Not to add, that the very abruptness of its ending shews it to be fresh writ, while the thing was doing, and that mere matter of Fact was the measure of the Writer's Pen.

I will conclude all, with the Information of Dr. G. Burnet, that able and impartial Writter of the History of the Reformation in England, who upon my enquiry told me this, That he living in Glascow some Years, found all People there, and in the Country about, fully persuaded of the Truth of matter of Fact, and that he never heard any thing objected to Mr. Sinclair's Relation, but that it was too short, whenas all the Passages of that Apparition would make a Volume, and that there was a full Relation thereof, attested under the Hands of Eye-witnesses: And to be short, I have greater assurance of the Truth of this Story than I think fit to declare. The most remarkable Passage in the whole Narrative, is the naked Arm from the Elbow downwards, appearing by itself, without any other parts of any visible Person, as the shape of an Horse's Hoof in the first Story, without any other parts of an Horse. Which puts me in mind of the Apparition Elkerken, which Wierus makes mention of in

his De Præstigiis Dæmonum, that used to haunt the Highway in an Heathy place not far from Embrica, in the Dutchy of Cleve, in the lower Germany nothing was seen but a mere Hand, which would beat Travellers as they passed that way, pull them off of their Horses, and overthrow Carriages.

As for the cutting and snipping of things, that is but what has happened more frequently to those that have been infested by Witchcraft. A notable Example whereof a Reverend and Learned Friend of mine, told me in a Man's Daughter of North-Cadbury in Somersetshire, that for some Months together, she could put on no clean Linnen, nor Holiday-cloaths, but they would be snipt and slast full of holes, as her Father for certain related of her to him. And of this snipping, besides the Narrative of Gilbert Campbel, there is a fresh Example of it in a Story within these three or four Years, touching Witchcraft practised on the Family of William Medcalfe, of Lessingham, (Sect. 12, 13, 18,) which is as follows.

R E L A T I O N IV.

A true Account, how Alice, the Daughter of William Medcalfe, Yeoman, in the Parish of Lessingham in Lincolnshire, was disturbed by an Apparition, with other Feats of Witchcraft practised upon that Family, sent from Mr. William Wyche, dwelling in the same Parish, to the Revd. Mr. J. Richardson, Fellow of Emanuel-College in Cambridge.

I. **I**N the Year 1678, on the Sunday after Twelfth-day, William Medcalfe, and his Wife went to Church, leaving their only Daughter Alice at home, and whilst they were there, the said Alice heard a Noise in the Yard, and looking out at the Window, she saw a Man of a middle Stature, with light flaxen Hair, standing at the Stable Door, upon which, she called out at the Window, and demanded of him what he did there? He returned, That he came for a Horse which he borrowed of her Father. She made him answer again,

again, That she knew nothing of it, and that he should have none till her Father came home. He received the Answer, and went away for that Day.

2. THE next Day, her Father and Mother being gone to *Sleaford* Market, she saw him again at the Stable Door, and demanded of him as before. He told her, She might go look. Then he ask'd her where the Horses were. She answer'd him again as short, told him, He might go look. Upon this, he began to soothe and flatter her, and gave her many softening Words, going towards the Door as he spake, as if he intended to go in to her; which she observing, she hastened and bolted the Door fast. Upon which he threatned her, (what his Threats were, she cannot recal) but some body knocking at the Door on the other side of the House, and she understanding it was a Neighbour, opened the Door, and told her Neighbour all that had past, and upon it, they both ran together into the Yard, to see if he were there, but they could not find him, neither knew they which way he went.

3. AFTER this, she was quiet for some time, only about two Weeks before *Shrove-tide*, one *Follet* a Cobler, and suspected to be the occasion of all that happened, came to the House, and they did set him to Work, moved thereto, I suppose, by fear, for he had threatned the Daughter, but for what I cannot learn. Whilst he was Working, he began to discourse to the Mother to this effect. That her Daughter should die that Year, that he had examined some Books which he had, and that he understood so much by them. And when he had done his Work, he bid them Farewel, telling them, He was sure they would think of *Follet* when they did not see him. Soon after this, *Alice* fell sick, and her Mother was somewhat doubtful of her Recovery, but as it pleased God, she was restored again to her former Health, and continued undisturbed till *May*, the Week before *Whitsuntide*.

4. AND then as she was drawing Water at the Well in the Yard, she saw the same Person again, which I first described, at the House Door, with a great Club, endeavouring as she thought, to break the Door open. Upon this, she called to him, and ask'd him what he did there. Upon the speaking, he flung down the Club among a great many Earthen Milk-pans, or Panchins,

as they call them, and with so great violence, that she could not conceive but that he had broken many of them, but afterwards upon examination, she found them all whole. As soon as he had done this he went away, and she leaving her Pail at the Well, followed him, saw him go down the Street, but at the turning of the Lane, lost the sight of him, and could not recover it. This was on *Monday*, and she saw him every Day that Week, but nothing passed between them, and several times she called her Father out that he might see him, but he never could.

5. ON *Saturday* he appeared to her in a more dreadful manner at the Hall Window. When she saw him, she ask'd him what his Business was there? He told her he would speak with her. She ask'd him what he had to say, and desired him to speak it, but he said, He would not yet tell her. Then he shewed her a Knife, and told her it was for her. She ask'd him then, whether he had a mind to be hang'd; and this was all that pass'd between them then. On the *Sunday* she saw him again run by the Window with a Knife in his Hand as before, and she told her Father and Mother of it, and they both ran out, but could not see him. On the *Monday*, whilst she was Milking, she saw him with his Knife as before; and thus he often afterwards appeared to her, especially at the Parlour-Window, having opened it, (which had not, they think, been opened for many Years before) and holding a Knife, only sometimes it was a shorter, and sometimes longer, but always bloody, and so was the hand that held it.

6. IN the week also before *Whitsuntide*, one *Richard Cosins*, a Youth about 18 or 19 years old, and then living with Good-man *Medcalse*, and now most commonly working for Sir *William York*, having heard *Alice* describe this Man which she so often saw, as he was walking towards *Roksme*, a little place belonging to *Leffingham* Parish, he met a Man which he thought to be very like the Man which she described. He went home and told his Master, upon which he and his Daughter walk'd out that way, to see if they could meet him. They were not gone far, but the Daughter saw him, and told her Father, and pointed which way he went, that he might see him, but still

as he went one way to see him, the Daughter presently saw him go the contrary way, so that he never could obtain the sight of him.

7. ONCE coming from Milking she had a good Club in her hand, and he met her, and asked her what she did with that Club. She being more than ordinary courageous, told him, she had a good mind to lay it about his Pate. He made her no answer but went away.

8. ANOTHER time in *July*, as near as they can remember, *Alice* made her a Mess of Frumenty for her Break-fast; it was made, as she tells me, of New Milk, which I take notice of because of what follows. As soon as she had begun to eat it, the forementioned *Follet* came to the door, and ask'd whether they had any Shoes to mend; she told him she thought they had (though indeed she knew of none, but spake it out of fear) but that her Father and Mother being gone out, she knew not where they were. So he went away, and she returned, designing to fall again to her Break-fast, but found it turned to a hard Curd. At which she was much surprized, and resolved to set it by to shew her Father and Mother; but she had no sooner turned her back, but the dish danced about on the Table, till it fell on the ground, and spilt all in the Floor, which a Neighbour's Dog as they thought, coming in, lick't up. The same day, as she was raking Hay, she was taken lame, and continued so a quarter of a year.

9. AFTER this she was quiet again for a while, and the next time she saw him was, when going behind the Barn upon some occasion, she espyed him standing at some distance from her, and a sudden blast of Wind took her Hat from off her head, and carried it to his feet; but she was not much daunted at it, but ran to him and took it up, and then he disappeared.

10. ONE *Sunday* in the middle of all her troubles, as she was stooping to take up a Pin, he appeared to her and told her, that *Follet* was the cause of all her troubles, and so left her.

11. HITHERTO I have given you as exact an Account as I could get from them as to the time. That which follows, I set down without observing the circumstance

of time or order of action, because I can learn no certainty of it from them, but the matter of Fact is truth.

12. OFTEN when they were gone to Bed, the inner doors were flung open, as also the doors of a Cupboard which stood in the Hall, and this with a great deal of violence and noise. And one night the Chairs, which when they went to Bed, stood all in the Chimney corner, were removed and placed in the middle of the Room in very good order, and a Meal-sieve hung upon one, cut full of holes, and a Key of an inner Door upon another. And in the day time, as they sat in the house, spinning, they could see the Barn-doors often flung open, but not by whom. Once, as *Alice* sat spinning, the Rock or Distaff leapt several times out of the wheel into the middle of the Room. Upon which she said she thought *Follet* was in it. She had no sooner said the words, but she saw *Follet* ride by to Sir *William York's* house, about some business with him relating to him as a Justice.

13. ANOTHER time *Alice* had her Petticoat taken away, and a good while after brought again, and several times other of her Cloaths were taken away, and after some time brought again, and laid in some place where they should be sure to see them. As two Pinner's which had been lost some time were brought and put in a Panchin, which Goodwife *Medcalf* had but newly poured the Milk out of. An Apron was taken away, cut in pieces and brought again, as also a Spigot which they searched carefully for was brought at last and placed upon five Eggs which Goodwife *Medcalf* had laid in the Milk-house but the night before; and the next night this Spigot was changed, put into the Barrel, and that which was in the Barrel laid where the other was.

14. ABOUT the latter end of the Summer in the night, the Daughter had her Cloaths pull'd off, and her Hair snarled and matted together in that manner, that the next day her Mother could very hardly get a pair of Scissors into it to cut it off; and she does believe she was near two hours about it.

15. ANO-

15. ANOTHER time she felt and saw something like a Cat sitting upon her, and till it removed she was in pain, and could not stir to help herself.

16. ANOTHER time going into the Parlour she saw again, as she thought, a Cat which did fly at her, and struck her down several times with great violence, of which her face, which was much swelled and black, was no small indication.

17. ONCE she found a Note wrapped up in an Handkerchief with these words written in it. *I would have you go from* — After she had read it, she lock'd it up in her Trunk, designing to shew it to her Father and Mother when they came home (for they were gone to Church) but when she went to look for it again, it was gone out of her Trunk, and she never saw it any more,

18. THE last thing that happened was this, one *Saturday* Night *Alice* going to Bed, laid a clean shift into her Bed, intending to put it on the next morning; but in the morning looking for it, she could not find it. The next night she borrowed one of her Mother, and laid that also in her Bed as before. In the Morning, when she went to put it on, it did not please her, whereupon she gave it to her Mother, desiring her to change it, the Mother took it to change, and opening it, found it cut and slashed in many places, and they are both very certain that it was whole before. And the same morning when they came into the Hall, they found the other, which was first taken away, laid upon the Table.

19. SOME odd Freaks were plaid also with the Father, as well as with his Daughter. For Good-man *Medcalfe* having received eight pounds at *Sleaford* for Beasts and when he came home put it in a Purse by itself, and lock'd it up in his Chest; and a day or two after, taking some Money out of another Purse, to buy more Beasts; when he returned, having some Money left, he went to his Chest to put it into the Purse he took it out of, and afterwards began to tell that Money which he receiv'd at *Sleaford*, and had put in a Purse by itself, and found that there was seventeen Shillings wanting; and some days after he found sixteen Shillings and Sixpence of it in his Pocket. So that there was only Sixpence lost.

20. AND another such like feat was it touching his Knife. One *Friday* having occasion to use his Knife, he
felt

felt in his Pockets for it, but could not find it, and search'd carefully every where for it. On *Sunday* night he dream'd his Knife was in his Pocket, and in the morning told his Wife of it, and they both, immediately searched his Pockets, but found none. Afterwards he being to go to *Sleaford* that day, he was feeling in his Pocket to see what money he had, or upon some other account, and then he found his Knife in his Pocket.

N. B. *This Story, tho' there is not much in it which makes any extraordinary shew or noise, yet it is considerable in that it is so notable an Instance, and so freshly happened, touching the little silly sportings and triflings of some kind of Demons, and will serve to confute that vulgar mistake, that whosoever is called Spirit or Devil, is so Great and August a Being that no small matters can be the object of his activity, whenas I must confess comparing Story with the System of the Invisible World, such as a sagacious and deliberate reason would conclude it, I have this long time both thought it, and not a few times spoke it. That there are as arrant Fools out of the Body, as in the Body: And I wish there were not as arrant Devils in the Body as out of it. And therefore I hold this Narrative though it be concerning meaner persons and things not at all despicable, especially Mr. Wyche, who took an account of it from the parties upon the very spot, avouching in his Letters to Mr. Richardson, that there is nothing contained therein but what is certainly true. And therefore I think it not amiss to bestow some few short notes on several of the Paragraphs in order as they lye.*

Sect. 1. *This Man in the light flaxen hair seems to have been taken for a real Man by Alice, to whom he appear'd, for a good while but in process of the story, it will be plain that it was no Man, but an Apparition. This appearing to her in an alluring human shape, (as Lendale's Wife, who was hang'd for a Witch here at Cambridge on Jesus Green, caused a Spirit or Dæmon to appear to her Maid in the shape of a proper Yeoman-like Man, and solicited her to marry him, driving on the business a long time, as the Maid confessed to a learned friend of mine, and myself) this appearing, I say, in this shape, seems to be a trick to familiarise his converse to her, that he might get her into a farther snare. Whether such as Lendale's Wife intended, I leave to others to conjecture.*

SECT. 3. *Whether Follet's threatening the Daughter was not from his displeasure against her uncompliableness with the Man in the light flaxen Hair, the tenth section will give more light to consider, compared with this present Section. But in the mean time it may not be unseasonable here to note, what danger there may be in listening to Astrologers or Fortune-tellers (for so this Follet is called by an able Physician in Lincolnshire, in his Letter to me.) For a Man may easily suffer hurt if they predict ill, by the Activity of evil Spirits with whom they are some how in confederacy, and with whom it is a thousand times more easie to do mischief than good, and therefore they will not stick to do it, to gain credit to their Client, viz. the Astrologer or Fortune-teller.*

SECT. 4. *The flaxen hair'd Man flinging down his Club with that violence amongst the Panchins, and yet breaking none of them, nor it making any noise when it seemed to hit amongst them (as it was answered to my query made touching this passage) is an indication, that this was to the sight what that monstrous thumping against the door in the following Story, SECT. 9. was to the hearing. That the senses in both were in a great measure imposed upon by the operation of these Dæmons. And that therefore here is the first hint of this flaxen hair'd Man's being an Apparition. And another is also contained in this same Section. In that her Father being several times called out by her to see this Man he never could see him, though he appeared so conveniently placed as that her Father might as well see him as herself, as she answered to Mr. Wyche upon that passage.*

SECT. 5. *His so frequently appearing to the Maid, as is manifest out of this Section and the former, and with such an horrid intention signify'd by his bloody Knife and Hand, though the Maid by her answer here seems not yet to be aware of it that it was an Apparition; yet 'tis no contemptible argument that it was. For what Man in his Wits would venture himself so oft in view to act this part. And it is hugely incredible but that he would have been seen by several others as well as her, if it had been a Man, when he was seen of none besides her, saving one Richard Cofins, who belonged to William Medcalf's Family, as is set down, SECT. 6. Which seems done on purpose to put a trick upon both the Daughter and Father whom he dog'd when he came out from home to see him, as that Section declares.*

SECT.

SECT. 7. This passage also intimates that the Daughter took this Apparition to be a real Man still. But that there was Witchcraft in the business, the Story in SECT. 8. does manifestly discover. For I making a Query upon that passage [that she had no sooner turned her back but the Dish danced about on the Table] how she could see it her back being turned, she did answer, she turned about (hearing, suppose, the noise of its motion on the Table) and there saw it turn about and fall. The turning her Frumenty also into an hard Curd, is another indication of Witchery in the business, and that this Spectre of a flaxen hair'd Man was sent to her by that Art. But (SECT. 9.) she seems to be well convinced it was an Apparition, herself declaring, it disappeared (though commonly, she said, in answer to a Query of mine, he went behind some House, Barn, Wall, or Hedge) and he seems (SECT. 10.) to have appeared on a sudden when she stooped for a Pin. And if Follet was the cause of all her trouble, this Dæmon did as other Dæmons often have done, that is betrayed their Clients. But the Law can proceed upon no such evidence, nor is it fit it should, for fear injury be done to the innocent.

But that William Medcalf's House was haunted or infested by Witchcraft, the Pranks set down in the following Sections of the Narrative do plainly enough evince. And that of the Daughter's lockard hair is such an argument as no one can possibly evade it. But to entangle things thus is an usual feat of these ludicrous Spirits. And this reminds me of a Story told me by W. M. many years ago, of an House haunted somewhere in Lincolnshire, where it was usual with these Goblins in a Room unfurnish'd, unless with the Lumber of broken Chairs and Stools, and old Bedsteads (in which Room they hung up their hanks of Yarn against the wall) to wind all this Yarn on those old pieces of Lumber, so perplexedly and entangledly that they could not, without spoiling it, endeavour to disentangle it, but letting it be as they found it, the next night these Goblins of themselves would take it off clear without hurt, and make it up in hanks and hang it up orderly as before.

This Magical matting of the Daughter's hair into a Witch-lock, and the leaping of her Distaff, SECT. 11. out of her Wheel several times into the Floor, in the sight of her Mother also, besides what happened to her Father, SECT. 19. 20. shew plainly that it was no deluded fancy of the Daugh-

Daughter, but the real effects of Witchery. Which will be abundantly more confirmed out of the following Story of the stirs in Sir William York's house, especially if that be true which is bruited in the Country, that they came from the same hand, that the troubles in William Medcalfe's Family did. But be that how it will, the ensuing Narrative is so palpable an evidence of things done by Dæmons or Spirits, that having got into my hands an authentick Copy of some of the most remarkable passages of those disturbances, by my worthy friend Mr. Richardson, though I have heard from more hands than one how unwilling Sir William was to have the thing made publick; yet I will presume so much upon his goodness, and love of truth, and useful instruction of the World, as to adventure to displease his natural humour whilst haply I may, upon his better consideration, gratify some more noble principle in him. For I know nothing in the thing that can turn to his dishonour. For the best of Men have been assaulted by the Devil in extraordinary ways, and it has been their glory that by their faith and courage, and humble confidence in the arm of God they have overcome him. Wherefore without any farther scruple I shall take the boldness to set down the above-said Narrative, as follows.

RELATION V.

A true and faithful Narrative of the disturbance which was in the House of Sir William York, in the Parish of Lessingham in Lincolnshire, sent by the former hand to the same party.

II. **I**N May, 1679, Sir William York being from home, there was a great noise made by the lifting up of the latch of the outmost door, which continued with great quickness and noise for the space of two or three hours, till betwixt ten and eleven of Clock in the night. His Lady then being at home, with few Servants, apprehended it to be Thieves, and thereupon they went to the door, and spake to them, and afterwards winded

a horn, and raised the Town, and upon the coming in of the Town, the noise ceased, and they heard no more of it till *May* following.

2. AND then Sir *William* being at *London*, the same noise was made at the door, as before, for two or three nights together, and then they began to believe it to be occasioned by some extraordinary means. This was heard alike by twenty several persons then in the Family, who looking out at the Windows over the door heard the noise, but saw nothing. About a month after, when Sir *William* had returned from *London*, he being in bed, and his Lady ready to go in, he heard the same noise again; which held about half a quarter of an hour and ceased, and began again several times that night, the same persons being then in the house also, and taking the same care to discover it: at the end of this knocking there was as if it were a thrusting with a knee, only more violent.

3. ABOUT the middle of *July* Sir *William* and his Lady being both from home, and the Servants sitting up expecting their return that night, they heard a noise in the Hall, being the next Room to them, like the clapping of the door at the feet of the stairs, and going in, they found the chairs all set in the middle of the Hall, which they did set in their usual places again, and returned into the Kitchen, and in a little time hearing the like noise again, they went into the Hall, and found the said chairs removed into a passage between the said Kitchen and Hall.

4. IN *August*, about nine or ten of the Clock, most of the Family being in bed, and Sir *William* near upon it, he heard a knocking at the door under the stairs, as if it were with the end of a good thick stick; at which being a little surprized, and going down, the said noise began again, but afterwards he heard no more of it that night.

5. ABOUT a fortnight after that, and about ten of the Clock, Sir *William* being in his Closet, in the Hall over-against the said door, heard a very violent knocking at the said door, and being surprized, could not find the key very quickly, but after he had, he went into the said room or hole under the stairs, which the noise left, and nothing being there, he sat down in the Hall with
half

half a score of the Family with him about half an hour, and all continued quiet. And then he went into his Chamber, but took the key of the said Room under the stairs in his Pocket, being very hard to believe any such extraordinary thing. And immediately the same noise began again in the same place, and he immediately going down, and into the same Room again, found all things as before. And the like noise was heard four or five times the same night in the same place, Sir *William* still using the same diligence to discover it as before. Note here, that as any one came near to that, or any other door where the knocking was, it always ceased, except the first time when it knocked at the outmost door.

6. ABOUT three or four nights after this, about eight of the Clock, at which time the noise usually began, and at the same place and door likewise where it usually began, there was a knocking heard as if it were with a stick with the broken end. Sir *William* used his former diligence to discover it. This noise was repeated about three or four times, and left off about eleven of the Clock. After this Sir *William* and his Family being after this manner so much disturbed, he resolved to do what he could to find it out. This noise therefore which was heard sometimes every other night, sometimes every night, as soon as it began Sir *William* took all the Family into one Room, that he might be secured that there was no cheat in it. Which the Servants, gladly yielded to, being all mightily affrighted.

7. ABOUT *September*, the noise began to be greater, and to be in a Room unfurnished, designed for a great Parlour, and was like to a Man walking up and down, and sometimes running, sometimes like a Man walking on Stilts, and sometimes knocking at the Ceiling, or top of the Room, but not above half a score stroaks at a time, yet sometimes fewer, and sometimes more, still as he went towards it.

8. AFTERWARDS the said noise began to be more dreadful and greater yet, and in more places, which mightily disordered Sir *William's* ancient Father; and his Lady and Children very much. Upon which they were thinking upon leaving the house. Sir *William* was willing they should; but unwilling to leave it himself,
and

and thereupon they all continued. At this time Sir *William* had a Plummer putting up lead about the house, to convey the Rain that fell into a Cistern, and this knocking was often against the Lead, and often against the Iron that bore it, in imitation of the Plummer's knocking in the day-time. He had likewise Carpenters at the same time, and sometimes this noise was like their chopping at the Wood in the Yard, insomuch, that the head Carpenter said, That if he had not known his Servants to be in the house, he should have thought they had been chopping. Sometimes it was like the Servants chopping of Coals in the Coal-yard; sometimes knocking at the doors of Out-houses, at the wash-house, brew-house, and stable doors; and as they followed it from place to place, it still immediately, and in one instant removed. These were the usual noises that were every night when it came, which was three or four times a Week.

9. But sometimes it was a great deal more terrible, particularly when Mr. *Brown*, a Relation of Sir *William's* Brother *Brown*, was here. The noise began about the usual time of the night, and at the usual place. Which said noise in one place or another held all night, sometimes at the door under the stairs, sometimes running up and down in the Parlour, sometimes knocking violently at the wood of the Windows, sometimes against the Spouts, and sometimes against the fore-mentioned Cistern, and sometimes against the outmost Doors, as if it had been some great piece of Timber thrown against them, insomuch that the Carpenters which were in the house, said it was impossible for all the art and strength of Man to make such a noise without battering the doors in pieces; and yet examining, they found the door firm and whole, not the least battered or strained: Sometimes this noise was like the tumbling of Tiles from the side of an house.

10. THIS noise growing worse and worse, Sir *William* followed it, demanding in the Name of God what was the occasion of it, but received no answer; but it still removed to another place: Particularly one night it being very extraordinary in the great Parlour, Sir *William* kept the Family in another Room, and with a Candle in his hand, walked in the same Parlour, but heard nothing.

After-

Afterwards considering the same God could protect him in the dark as well as in the light, he put out the Candle, and shut the door, and walked there a quarter of an hour, hoping some discovery might be made to a single Person, which was not made to more. After he had walked a quarter of an hour in the dark, the noise began at the wood of the Window in the same Room, only on the out-side. At which he demanded as formerly, In the Name of God, what was the meaning of it? Upon which it immediately ceased in that place, and removed to a Dial that stood about ten or twenty yards from the house, and knock'd violently there, and took the rounds as formerly again. This night Sir *William* likewise opened a Bible, and laid it in the Room under the stairs where it began; but nevertheless, the noise was there afterwards, and the Bible not altered. After which, he went into the Chamber with the Family, and having been a little time there, there began a very great Drumming at a pair of Wainscot-doors, between the Hall and the great Parlour, imitating Drummers in their several ways of beating, and varying it as they usually do, but it was, as if it was done with hands against the Wainscot.

II. ABOUT three or four nights after this, this noise of knocking began as at former times, and Sir *William* lighted a Candle, and set it in a high Candlestick, in the middle of the Hall, and went up into his Chamber with all his Family; and whilst they were above, this Drumming noise began at the door again, in a very dreadful manner. They were at their devotions, which when they had finished, Sir *William* went out first himself, and went down stairs, and found the chairs removed, and the Candle put out, the Snuff hanging bent down, and the Candlestick removed into the Passage, between the Kitchen and the Hall.

12. THIS was about the beginning of *October*, and the sitting of the Parliament drawing nigh, which required Sir *William*'s attendance, and he being much concerned upon the leaving his Family in such disturbances, and intending to set forward on *Monday* before the sitting of the Parliament, which was *October* 16. his Brother *Brown* and his Wife, Sir *William*'s only Sister, and several other Friends coming to take their

leave of him; the noise was heard at the door under the stairs that night, but very little to what usually. And accordingly Sir *William* went to *London*, intending that if the noise continued, his Lady and his Children should follow him, and that his Father should go to Mr. *Brown's* at *Horblin*; but by God's blessing, from that time to this it was never heard any more.

N. B. *This is a very true and assured Diary of the chief Passages in those stirs made in Sir William York's House, but withal a very brief one. Which made me get Mr. Richardson to send certain Queries touching several Passages which were answered from a very sure and authentick Hand; and in virtue of which Answers, I shall be able to give a stop to all the tergiversations of the Incredulous, and their evasorious Pretences, as if things might be resolved into waggish Combination. As first on,*

SECT. 1. *I was certified (so that no Man can pretend that the Party that made that noise with the latch, did upon the blowing of the horn, sink away before the Town could come in) that the noise continued till the People of the Town came to the Gate; and that it was impossible but that if any Person had been within the Yard, they must have discovered him, because there is a Wall about ten foot high round the Yard, so that he could no way escape. And besides, that it happened in that time of the year, when it is in a manner all night long Twi-light, sufficient to discover any Person, if any were there to be discovered; it is not probable, if there had been need, but that some of the Company would come with Lanthorns or other Lights.*

SECT. 2. *Those Persons that look'd out of the Window to the place where the noise was made, could not but see if there were any Man there to make that noise, it being done by Moon shine, (as is answered to my Query on this Passage) sufficient to discover if any Person had been there, if not who it were. And this diligence being repeated for some nights together, and nothing discerned, it is manifest, that the noise was made by some Daemon or Spirit, not by any Man*

SECT. 5. *Note, That the noise at the door of the Room under the stairs, it could not be discerned, whether it was on the inside of the door, or on the outside, as was answered to one of my Queries. And therefore Sir William*
seeing

seeing nobody at the outside to cause that noise, which he might easily have done by the light of his Candle, if there had been any body, he went into the Room to see if he could discover any one there. But finding nobody, lock'd the door, and yet the noise began again in the same Room, but upon a second search, nobody found therein. And this noise, and this diligence in searching the same place several times repeated in one night, by one naturally incredulous of any such extraordinary things, and receiving full satisfaction therefrom, methinks should shake the most obdurate Saducee, and make him ashamed of his fond Incredulity.

But now for the ceasing of the knocking when any one came near to any door where the knocking was; this was no impediment to the certain experience of that under the stairs, because they by the light of a Candle plainly, though at some distance, seeing there was nobody at the outside of the door, and finding nobody within the room or hole, which was lock'd; notwithstanding the ceasing of the knocking, they might be sure that the knocking was not made by the hand of any mortal. Nay, I will farther add from certain information, that there were scarce any of the house but have seen the door at the same time the noise was made there, and nobody at it; and that Sir William himself particularly has seen the door from the top of the stairs with a light in his hand several times, while the noise was there, which sometimes continued till he came down several steps, and once till he came over-against the door, within a yard of it, or thereabout, but saw nobody; so certain an experiment is this of *Dæmoniackal* operations.

SECT. 6. This taking the whole Family into one Room, was of very good consequence; for thereby it was plain that none of the Family plaid these freaks, nor augmented them by any humourfome imitation. And it is incredible any stranger should venture, as I understand by the answer to my fifth Query. Which assures me, that on the first night the house was searched every where, and the doors were always lock'd, and Sir William had the Keys given to him. What stranger therefore in his wits, would adventure upon such freakish exploits, wherein he did himself so little good, when he was in such apparent danger to be taken in such a numerous Family.

SECT. 7. *My sixth Query was upon this seventh Section which was this : Was Sir William in the Room where something seemed to walk, to run, to go on Stilts, &c. and whether it was not so dark, but that he might see if there had been a Man there. To which is answered. He sometimes went in with a Candle, and sometimes without, yet could discover nothing ; and if any Person had been there, it was impossible for him to escape out of the Room undiscovered, the Door being lockt. And I may add farther, the outward Doors being lockt, that would have sufficiently made him liable to be taken, if it had been a Man.*

SECT. 8. *This Apish imitation of the noise of Workmen, shews it to be some trifling Dæmon, as also that sudden removal from one place to another, and its being heard in so many places at once, plainly argues it could be no Man, unless there were more than one, which would make them still the more obnoxious to be taken.*

SECT. 9. *The continuance of the stirs also all Night, argues it not to be probable it was any Man. For who would disquiet himself a whole Night, meerly to amuse others for nothing. But that battering noise at the Door, demonstrates it was not the Feat of any Mortal. And besides this noise, as Mr. Edward Brown the elder, who was there that very Night, writes to Mr. Richardson ; the iron Latch of the great Door of the Room, which was just under that in which he lay, seemed to him to move with such wonderful swiftness up and down, and with such very great noise, as he could not think any humane Art or Dexterity could effect. But he describes also the battering noise he heard at that Door. There seemed, saith he, sometimes to be such extraordinary Thumping and Knocking against the said Door with such wonderful loud noise, as if some had managed an extraordinary great piece of Timber with the greatest Art, to give it the greatest advantage to force the Door open, or break it in pieces ; and in deliberate Thoughts, I could not conceive how the strongest Doors or Walls could stand before such force as was threatned by such a very great and loud Noise. These two kinds of noises, says he, continued in my hearing till about break of Day, with frequent little intermissions ; and yet in the Morning both the iron Latch*
and

and Door were found unalter'd in the very same state they were left when we went to Bed. And very intelligent Persons, says he, in the Family said, That when they went to the Door, or went out in the time of such disturbances, they could see no body, nor perceive any motion in any thing on which the invisible Agent did seem to operate. Which is the very same which I heard from the above-mentioned Doctor of Physick, in his Letter to me. Mr. Brown in his Discourse to Mr. Richardson in the Country, touching this thumping Noise at the Door, told him he could not compare it to any thing better, as to the force thereof, than to the Roman Ram, which the Romans battered down Walls with. But it being experienced of all Hands, that the Noise seemed to come from a force against the Door, that would if it had been real, break the door all in pieces, and yet the door suffering nothing from it, it is a plain demonstration that it was no Feat of any Man, but a prestigious Frolick of some Demon. And lastly, what one Man or many could make such a noise on the top of the house, as if most of the Tiles were falling, and how could he get down so suddenly as not to be discovered?

SECT. 10. My seventh Query was upon this Section, viz. Whether when Sir William went into the great Parlour with a Candle in his hand to walk there, did the noise cease at his approach or before. To which is answered, It ceased upon his going in, and as soon as he was gone out, it would often begin again. Whence it is plain, if the noise had been caused by any visible person, that person would have been discovered by the light. But that which caused it did not so much as remove out of the Room in all likelihood, it beginning again as soon as Sir William's back was turned.

SECT. 11. My eighth Query belongs to this Section, and to some part of the former, namely, Whether when the Drumming was, and the Candle put out, and the Chairs removed, the out-doors of the house were lockt, so that none might escape out. To which it is answered, They were lockt, and Sir William kept the Keys. Which indeed was every night done, as was noted in the sixth Section. And therefore it is incredible that any man would adventure to make such a thundering noise on the Wainscot

doors, imitating the various beating of Drums, or do any other discoverable Feats in so numerous a Family where there were so many to find him and apprehend him, and the doors shut upon him, and that he could make no escape. To which you may add, that the Dogs were never observed to bark at any of these disturbances as most of the Family affirm, all of them that never above once (which is a thing observed also in the Story of the Devil of Maschon) and yet the noise was external, all the Family, and other Watchers hearing it alike.

These were my main Queries upon this Narrative, and I must profess that I am abundantly satisfied in the Answers to them. Nor will I omit what will reach farther than to these Queries. For I am assured from the same hand, that Sir William being a person naturally incredulous of such things, and impatient of being imposed upon, used all possible care and diligence to detect the Imposture, if there had been any, and this will reach to more particulars than I could propose by way of Query. Which hitherto has been only touching matter of Fact. But I was also so curious as to ask what Witnesses there were besides those of Sir William's Family, which amount to about Twenty, and I was informed that most of his Tenants by turns watching there, could witness to the same matters. And there were at least forty Persons that were Eye-witnesses, or rather Ear-witnesses, the disturbance being by Noises, not Apparitions properly so called, and most of the Servants are still in Sir William's Family, that were there in the time of the disturbance. So that if any one have the curiosity to enquire of the truth of the business, he may easily get full satisfaction in the Parish of Lefingham.

My last Query was, Whether any one was suspected to be the cause of these disturbances, and upon what occasion. But the answer was prudent and Christian, That there might be some person suspected, but the proof being not full, he was unwilling to lay so heavy a charge on any one. Nor is that much to my purpose, unless the party suspected should prove the Cobbler, that Alice Medcalfe's flaxen hair'd Visitant affirmed to her to be the Author of her troubles. For then the certainty of these disturbances in Sir William's house, of which there is so full and ample Testimony, would be a farther confirmation of
those

those things that are said to have happened at William Medcalfe's, they both being as well from one hand as in one Parish.

But in the mean time these disturbances at Sir William York's having such clear and unexceptionable Evidence, that they were not the Feats of any Man, but the Freaks of some invisible Dæmon, my communicating this Narrative to the World, as it cannot but deserve thanks of the Reader, so I hope it will obtain pardon of Sir William, that I have not concealed his Name, no more than suppress'd the Story itself, which would have been main without it, but have exhibited it in its due fulness for the conviction of this incredulous Age, and confounding of Saducism and Infidelity, without the least blemish to so worthy a Person, who was so much under the protection of the Almighty that this Dæmoniacal Power was notably limited and curbed, forasmuch as it was observed that, unless it was in the Hall (and there was only a few Chairs) the disturbance was never in any Room that was furnished. And it was also confined as to time; for unless it began at Eight, Nine or Ten of the Clock, it came not all that Night, and usually left off about Eleven or Twelve, there is only that Night excepted, when Mr. Brown was there. And lastly, when Sir William was in the greatest straits of all, Sect. 12. and intended to have his Wife and Children come up to London to him, and to dispose of his Father at Mr. Brown's at Horblin, to prevent that trouble, the disturbance quite ceased. But Sir William's Christian Faith and Courage in the midst of those disturbances, while they continued, was very eminent and conspicuous, and I know no injury done to him or any else in my transmitting the memory thereof to future Ages.

RELATION VI.

A story of the marvellous condition of one Robert Churchman of Balsham, some six or seven Miles off from Cambridge, when he was inveigled in Quakerism, how strangely he was possessed by a Spirit that spoke within him, and used his Organs in despite of him, while he was in his Fits. And how he was recovered from his Error, and regained to the Church by the devotions and diligence of Dr. J. Templar, still Minister of that place, as it is set down in his Letter to a friend, which is as follows.

S I R,

YOUR desire to be acquainted with some passages concerning the *Quakers* in this Town, obligeth me to give you the following Account. At my first settlement here, I found them very busy in enticing my people to a compliance with their persuasions in Religion. This design they did attempt to accomplish by dispersing their Papers among them. Two of my Parishioners I had a particular eye upon, namely *Robert Churchman* and his Wife. They being Persons of a very good life, and of a plentiful Estate, I was under a fear that their departure from the Church might be a means to induce others to the same practice. The first, in many discourses I had with him, did manifest a very strong inclination to the Principles of the *Quakers*. The second was so far engaged, that the *Quakers* did commonly report, that a *principle* was wrought in her.

As I was one day in conference with the said *Robert Churchman*, I desired him that when any of their Books came to his hand, he would do me the kindness to bring them to me, that we might read them over together, assuring him of no unwillingness in me to harken to whatsoever should appear reasonable. What I desired
he

he performed not long after. When I had received the Paper into my hand, before I began to read, I suggested to him, that it would be convenient that the person who had been the cause of his seducement should be sent for, and hear what was replied to the Contents, which he willingly consented to. When the Quaker was come, one branch of our discourse was, *Whether the Scripture is to be owned as a Rule*, which the Quaker denyed, asserting, *that the Rule was within them*. After the expence of two or three hours in discourse about this and other matters, I desired *Robert Churchman* to take notice, that the Quakers did not own the Scriptures for their Rule. Which before this conference I had intimated to him, but found him unwilling to believe. It pleased God so far to bless what was spoken, that the next time he met his Brother *Thomas Churchman*, he told him of what had passed at my house, and that now he was assured that the Quakers did not acknowledge the Scripture for their Rule, and for his part, he would not be of that Religion which doth disown the Scripture in that particular.

Not long after, the Wife of the forementioned Quaker coming to his house to visit his Wife, he met her at the door, and told her she should not come in, intimating that her visit would make division betwixt them. After some Parley the Quaker's Wife spake unto him in these words, *Thou wilt not believe except thou see a Sign, and thou mayest see some such*. Within a few nights after *Robert Churchman* had a violent storm upon the Room where he lay, when it was very calm in all other parts of the Town, and a Voice within him, as he was in bed, spake to him, and bid him, *Sing praises, sing praises*, telling him, that he should see the glory of the *New Jerusalem*, about which time a *glimmering light* appeared all about the Room. Toward the morning the Voice commanded him to go out of his Bed naked with his Wife and Children. They all standing upon the Floor, the Spirit making use of his Tongue, bid them to lye down and put their Mouths in the dust, which they did accordingly. It likewise commanded him to go and call his Brother and Sister, that they might see the *New Jerusalem*, to whom he went naked about half a Mile.

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WHEN he had delivered his Message, that which spake within him, charged him to denounce wrath against them, and declare that Fire and Brimstone would fall upon them, as it did upon *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, if they did not obey, and so he returned to his own house. Where, upon the Floor of a low Room, he stood naked about three or four hours. All that while he was acting in a very unusual manner, sometimes the *Spirit* within forced him to sing, sometimes to bark like a Dog. When his Brother and Sister who followed him were very importunate with him to resist it, it bid him to kill them making use of these words. *These my Enemies which would not that I should reign over them, bring them and slay them before my face.* It made him to utter with great readiness many places of Scripture, which he had no knowledge of before. The drift of what was spoken was to persuade him to comply with the *Quakers*, and it named some which live in the neighbouring Towns. About three or four hours being thus spent, he came to himself and was able to give a perfect account of what had befallen him.

SEVERAL nights after, the same trouble returned upon him. His Wife was tortured with extraordinary pains; the Children which lay in the Room complained that their Mouths were stopped with Wool as they were in Bed. The disturbance was so great, that he had thoughts of leaving his house for a time, and made it his desire to be with me at mine. I prevailed with him not to be so sudden in his removal, but to make some farther trial. It pleased God upon a continuance with him in Prayer every day in the house, that he was at last perfectly free from all molestation. The *Quakers* hearing of his condition gave it out, that the Power of God would come upon him again, and that the Wound was but skinned over by the Priest. Which made me the more importunate with him to keep close to the publick Service of God, and to have nothing to do with them or their Writings.

WHICH direction he followed till *November 1661.* and then perusing one of their Books, a little after upon the tenth day of that Month, his troubles returned. A voice within him began to speak to him after the former manner. The first Sentence which it uttered was, *Cease thou from Man, whose Breath is in his Nostrils for wherein he*

is to be accounted. The design which he discerned that it did aim at was, to take him off from coming to the Church (where he had been that day) and from hearing the Word of God. It suggested several other Scriptures in order to the persuading of him to a compliance with the *Quakers*, and told him, that it would strive with him as the Angel did with *Jacob* until the breaking of the day, at which time it left him. The two next nights it gave him the same Molestation, saying, it must be with him as it was with *David*, who gave no sleep to his eyes, nor slumber unto his eye-lids, until he found a place for the Lord, an habitation for the mighty God of *Jacob*. Upon Wednesday at night he was very peremptory in his resisting of it. When it began to sollicite him, he replied, That he saw it was a *Spirit* of delusion, which he would not obey. Upon which the *Spirit* denounced a Curse against him in these words, *Go ye cursed into everlasting Fire*, and so left him with a very great heat in his body.

AFTER this, he was in his own apprehension in a very comfortable condition, and while he was considering what had happened, a Voice within him spake to him saying, That the Spirit which was before upon him was a Spirit of delusion, but now the true Spirit of God was come into him. It acquainted him that the Doctrine of the Trinity was true, and that God had an Elect People, and that those whom the Father Elected, the son hath redeemed, and whom Christ Redeemeth, the Holy Ghost Sanctifyeth, and told him that the Minister of the Town would farther instruct him about the truth of these things. Upon Thursday morning about break of day, it set him upon his Knees, as he was in Bed, and bid him farewell. The same day it came upon him in the Field as he was going to, and coming from the Market, and pressed upon him to believe that it was the good Spirit which he was acted with, which he still doubted of. One night that week amongst many Arguments which it used to that purpose, it told him if he would not believe without a Sign, he might have what Sign he would. Upon that *Robert Churchman* desired, if it was a good Spirit, that a Wier-Candlestick which stood upon the Cup-board might be turned into Brass. Which the Spirit said he would do. Presently there was a very unfavoury smell in the Room, like that of the Snuff of a Candle newly put

put out; but nothing else was done towards the fulfilling of the Promise.

UPON the Lord's day following, he being at Church, it came upon him. When the Chapters were named, he turned to them in his Bible, but was not able to read. When the Psalm was sung, he could not pronounce a syllable. Upon *Monday* morning his Speech was wholly taken from him. When I came to him, and asked him how it was with him, he moved his head towards me, but was not able to speak; I waited an hour or two in the Room, hoping that his Speech might have returned unto him, and that I might have gained from him some account of his condition. But finding no alteration, I desired those who were present to joyn with me in Prayer. As we were Praying, his Body with much violence was thrown out of Bed, and then with great vehemency he called to me to hold my Tongue. When Prayer was done, his Tongue was bound as before, till at last he broke out into these words, *Thine is the Kingdom, Thine is the Kingdom*; which he repeated, I believe above an hundred times. Sometimes he was forced into extreme laughter, sometimes into singing; his hands were usually imployed in beating his Breast. All of us, who stood by, could discern unusual heavings in his body. This distemper did continue towards the Morning of the next Day, and then the Voice within him signified to him, that it would leave him, bidding him to get upon his Knees in order to that end, which he did, and then presently he had a perfect command of himself.

WHEN I came to him, he gave me a sober Account of all the Passages of the Day before, having a distinct remembrance of what the Spirit forced him to do, and what was spoken to him by those who stood by. In particular he told me, he was compelled to give me that disturbance in Prayer, which I before mentioned, the Spirit using his Limbs and Tongue as it pleased, contrary to the Inclination of his own Mind.

UPON the *Thursday* following, the Spirit began to rage after its former manner, as I was at Prayer with him, it was very discernable how it wrought upon his Body, forced him to grate his Teeth, and draw his Mouth awry. He told me after I had done, that it bid him to denounce

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Woe against me. It pleased God upon continuance in Prayer with him, at last to release him of all his trouble, and so far to make it advantageous to him and his Wife, and some others, which were too much by-affected with the Principles of the *Quakers*, that now they have a perfect dislike of that way, and do diligently attend upon the publick Service of God in the Parochial Church. Sir, you may be confident of the truth of what is here related, by

Your assured Friend,

Balsbam, Jan. 1,
1682.

J. I.

N. B. *Three Reasons induced me to subjoin this Story to the foregoing ones: First, because I have all desirable assurance of the truth thereof, being personally acquainted this long time with the Party that wrote this Letter, whom I know to be a learned, pious, and serious Person, and such as I am confident, would not for all the World close his Letter so as he has, but that he delivers nothing but what he knew to be true, by such means as is intimated in the Letter itself; that is, either by his own experience, or the information of Robert Churchman, whom he knew to be a singular honest Man, and utterly devoid of all Fraud and Guile. Moreover, the writer of this Letter is so modest, that he was always very backward from publishing it by itself, though it makes not a little to his repute in the faithful and successful discharge of the Ministry. But this new occasion being offer'd, my importunity obtained of him, that it might be published in this Collection of Stories of this nature, which now accordingly is done.*

My second reason is, because it is such a notable example of that danger they put themselves in, who leave the true Church of Christ, (which has the Seal and Testimony of Christ, that it is for the main commensurate to his Word as the Church Universal was before the Apostasy, and the Reformed Churches are upon the rising of the Witnesses) to follow the seducing of any private Spirit, especially such as the Quakers were at the first, being drunk and intoxicated with Poyson of Familism, which out of a Spirit of Saducism and Infidelity, believing no subsistence of

of the Soul of Christ after Death, antiquates all things belonging to his particular Person, as the Sacraments, Festivals, his Intercession, and Personal coming again to Judgment, &c. and makes nothing of any Christ but what is within us. Which is a perfect dissolution, or nulling of the True, Apostolick, Christian Religion, which yet is to be Everlasting, according to the Prediction of Daniel.

And my third and last reason is, because this Story with others of Toldervy, Gilpin, James Naylor, and the like, will the better justify that Satyrical Passage of Jos. Glanvill's Letter to me, wherein he calls Quakerism, The sink of Folly and Madness; which I conceive he doth, with an Eye to the former times of the Quakers. But that there is now a more tolerable estimate to be made of them, (though some sordid Badges of Familism still to stick to them; and indeed, all that remains ugly in them is such, though they do not consider it) I shall note in my Advertisement on that Letter, which is as follows.





A

W H I P

FOR THE

Droll Fidler to the Atheist :

Being Reflections on

*Drollery and Atheism.*Occasion'd by the DÆMON of *Tedworth*.In a Letter to the Learned Dr. *Henry More*.*Honoured SIR,*

THE scrupulous care you take in examining the Story of the disturbance at *Tedworth*, is no more than becomes a Philosopher, and one that is not willing to be deceived. And without such a cautious and particular inquiry, you could not answer the murmurs and petty evasions of wilful Unbelievers. Those objections you pick'd up at *Cambridge*, (against this disturbance) have the ill fortune to miscarry in almost every circumstance, and are in no likelihood of being believed but at a great distance. Some of them I could have answered upon mine own knowledge; and concerning the rest I have made a strict inquiry of Mr. *Mompesson* himself and others, when I was last in those parts, and upon certain information I give you this account.

To the (1.) that saith, *The house is rented, and that this is a device to beat down the value of it.* I answer from his own mouth, That the house is his own,
and

and so the foundation of this shift is overturned. The second, of those that say, *It is a trick to get Money from those that come to see the Prodigy*, hath as little truth, but much more malice in the first contrivers than the former, for this Gentleman being a Person of Estate, I am confident, scorns so base and so beggarly a Policy, and is so far from making any advantage, that it hath done him very material prejudice in his Fortunes and Affairs. And those strangers that came to see the Prodigy, use to leave nothing behind them, except thanks for the civility of their entertainments. 'Tis true, (3.) as others say, *That the house is boarded without*, at least a great part of it. But there are no Cellars, as the objection adds, save only under the Parlour, and the disturbance was most in other Rooms. And whereas, (4.) 'tis objected, *That a Knight that offered to go down could not be permitted*. 'Tis answered me, That the Gentleman might have gone down had he pleased, and his Servant did, who made a careful search, but could find nothing that might be a cause of the noise, which he affirmed to be above, and that it proceeded not from the Cellar. And to disable what other objectors say, viz. (5.) *That there was no Drumming in the midst of any Room, but only a striking on the boards as it were with a hammer in a corner of the outsides of the house*. I say, to null this pretence, Mr. Mompeffen and others assured me, that the noise was oft in the midst of the room, and oft over head; and, he saith, That there is scarce a Man or Child in the Village, but hath heard and can witness it. And after the first Month it was almost always within. Thus, Sir, to the objections of others, which you have gathered, and to your own Queries I make this return.

WHEREAS you inquire, (1.) *What part of the Childrens Bed did the Demon beat, and what noise did it make?* 'Tis answer'd, That it beat against the head and posts of the Bed, and that when hands were laid on each side of them, at those times they would shake as if they would fall in pieces, but nothing else could be perceived or felt. The noise was like to that of striking with a hammer. And then, (2.) To that whether the *Drummer's Drum* was ever looked on while it beat, or was it only in the dark. I am assured that it was seen while the noise was made
upon

upon it, both by the light of Fire and Candle. (3.) To the Query, *What were the Boards that moved, by what Light was their motion seen, and by whom?* Mr. Mompesson answers, They were seen move forwards and backwards in the light of clear Day, before the Sun was set, and by a whole House full of People. And whereas (4.) you ask, *In what clearness of Light were the Chairs seen walk about, and by what Witnesses?* 'Tis answered, That they were seen to do so by Candle-light, and by divers Persons.

As to what I was a Witness of myself, I add these circumstances for the satisfaction of your Queries: The Children were in Bed when the Scratching and Panting was, but I am sure did not contribute to those noises. I saw their Hands above the Cloaths during the Scraping, and searched the place whence the noise came. To which I might add, That they were little harmless modest Girls, that could not well have been suspected guilty of the confidence of such a juggle, had it been possible they could have acted in it. For the Panting, I am certain there was no Dog in the Bed, for I graspt it with my Hand, and felt it in all parts, especially there where the original motion was. The Bed also was search'd under, but no Dog, nor any Creature else could be found there. The Floor I said shook with the Panting sensibly, and yet it was as strong and substantial an one, as ordinarily is seen. But the Children indeed did not seem to be much concerned, having been used to those and ruder noises, and there was Company in the Room to assure them.

THUS, Sir, I have briefly answered others *Objections*, and your *Queries*. And because I have an humour to say little more, I'll consider (what you know as well as any Man alive) the Reasons Men are so apt to cavil at this kind of Relations, and are rather willing to believe any thing than the Truth of such a Narrative. They are chiefly, I think, an affected humour of *Drollery* and *Scoffing*, and a worse cause, *Atheism*.

FOR the first, The subject of *Witches* and *Apparitions* is an apt and ample occasion. And the Cheats of *Impostures*, the Conceits of *Melancholy*, the Credulity of *Ignorance*, the Tricks of *Waggery*, the more solemn Vanities of *Superstition*, and the Tales of *old Women*, these are excellent Topicks for a frolick and wanton Fancy. And the desire the *Humourist* hath to be some body, and to have a

Name above those of common Apprehension, will be sure to actuate the scoffing Vein; in the exercise of which, if he have quibbled luckily, and made Folks laugh, he is encouraged to take all such occasions to prove himself a Wit, and to shew he had a pretty way to play the Fool. And when he hath wanton'd a while, and frolickly toyed in his affected merriments, his *Reason* becomes an obedient Servant to his *Fancy*. He makes himself believe, (by those Arguments that at first were intended only to make him laugh) and in the end concludes in earnest, that there is neither *Witch* nor *Apparition*, and 'tis well if he stop there.

Now these, Sir, are the Wits, (if we will believe them) and their Admirers take every Jest for an Argument, and a loud Laugh upon an idle Tale of a *Devil* or a *Witch*, for a Demonstration of the *Non-existence* of such Beings. And thus the humour propagates, and *Saducism* is the Fashion. Nor is this all, but by the same method, every thing that is sacred or serious hath been exposed, and both *Government* and *Religion* made the Objects of idle and fantastick *Buffoonry*.

I. *And must we call this Wit, Sir, I confess, there are few things that urge me more to Indignation, than to hear that Name, which deserves to signify better, to be so injuriously applyed. Certainly Wit is not an odd Metaphor, or a lucky Simile, a Wild fetch, or unexpected Inference, a mimic Action, or a pretty Knack in telling of a Tale, but it is a Faculty to dive into the depth of things, to find out their Causes and Relatives, Consonancies and Disagreements, and to make fit, useful, and unobvious Applications of their respective Relations and Dependencies. For which great and noble Exercises of the Mind, the Droll is the most unfit and incompetent Person in the World; and those that on this account assume the Prerogative of being the only Wits, are of all Men the most incapable of being so. For that trivial and pedling way of Fancy and Humour, to which they are addicted, emasculates their Minds, and makes them Superficial, Flashy, and Fantastical, by imploying them upon Effeminacies, and little apish Fooleries. And by these darling Entertainments, of a too Fondly-indulged Fancy, the Mind is made incapable of serious and deep Reflections, which give it the noblest and most valuable Improvements. So that*

I have observed, that the *Drolling Humourists*, are for the most part remarkably defective in close Ratiocinations and the worst in the World at Inference. Which is no wonder, since Fancy is a desultory and roving Faculty, and when 'tis not under the Conduct of a severe judgment, not able to keep itself to a steady and resolv'd Attention, much less to make coherent Chains of rational deduction. So that 'tis next to impossible for such Wits as these, to arrive to more than a Knack of scoffing at what they understand not. And they are under almost an invincible Temptation of doing so, by every thing that is too great for their Comprehension. For the Humour that acts them, is Proud and Assuming, and would not have any thing to be valu'd, of which itself is incapable, and therefore it depretiates all the Nobler and more Generous matters, which it hath very great reason to despair of, and endeavours by ridiculous and insolent Scorn to lift itself above them.

AND yet this presumed Wit which raiseth them to such an elevation in their own conceit, is but a young and boyish Humour, and the very first Essays of juvenile Invention, are in these Exercises of Fancy, which the maturer Spirits out-grow. For you know, Sir, our Senses are the first Powers we exercise and indulge in our greenest Years. From them by degrees our Imaginations grow up, and their Actions and Gratifications are the Pleasures and Entertainments of Youth, which is easy to observe in the little Flirts, Quibbles, and Tricks of Fancy, with which the younger Students in the Universities are so much tickled and transported. But when Age and Experience ripens the Judgment, (which is the Faculty of slowest growth) we then slight this wantonness and toying of our Fancies, and apply ourselves to pursuits that are more manly and concerning. And when the Judgment is come to its full exercise and pitch, and hath overcome and silenced the futilities and prejudices of Imagination, we are then, and not till then, grown into Manhood. And those that never arrive to this consistence, but spend their Age in fooling with their Fancies, they are yet Children, though they have grey Hairs, and are still Boys, though past their great Climacterical.

I confess, Sir, I am not so *Cynical* and severe, but that I allow even to the more improved Genius's their relaxations and pleasant Intervals. And Sage *Socrates* himself sometimes rid the Boys Hobby horse. Fancy may be

permitted its plaifance and inoffensive Raileries, fo long as they are governed by the Rules of Vertue, and a prudent Judgment. And no doubt God himfelf allows all our Powers and Faculties their innocent Gratifications. Yea, and I acknowledge a delightful prettinefs in the refult of a managed and judicious Fancy, while it is employ'd in expofing Vice, and conceited Follies, to deferved Scorn and Laughter.

BUT when Imagination is rampant, loofe and ungoverned, when it knows no Bounds, and obferves no Decorums, but fhots at random, and infolently flies at all things that are Auguft and Venerable, its fallies are then vitious and deteftable Excefles; and thofe that are of this Humour, are but a fort of fleering Buffoons, that is, a better kind of Apes in the Judgment of the Wife, though Wits in their own.

BUT, Sir, I intimated a greater Charge againft thefe *quibbling Debauches*, viz. That they are the Enemies of Government and Religion, and fhall prove it with this addition, that they are fo of all the better forts of Knowledge.

II. *For Government*, you know, Sir, its Influence depends upon the Reverence its Rulers have from the People, and while they are Men, there will be mifcarriages in publick Affairs and Managements of State. And if all the Miftakes and Faults of the fupreme Minifters of Rule be rattled and aggravated among the Herd, the Government will thereby be expofed to the fcorns of the Rabble, and lofe a great part of its force with its Reverence. And in this it fuffers infinitely from the drolling Phantafficks, who blow in the Sores till they have rankled them with their malicious and poyfonous Breath, and fhoot Libels at the Government, till they have made deep Wounds in its Reputation and Reverence, and turn'd every Tongue into a Weapon of War againft it. Thus do thefe *Chams* difcover their Father's Nakednefs, and rejoice to publifh the fhame of thofe, whose Failures and Infirmities, Loyalty, Prudence and Regard to the Publick Quiet fhould oblige them to conceal.

NOR, (2.) is Religion more beholden to them. For a mind that ufeth to whiffle up and down in the levities of fancy, will find a very great indifpofition to the ferious and folemn exercifes of Piety. And that will
grow

grow into an Averfation which will be fure to prompt the Humourift to take all occafions to expofe it, fo that he quickly jefts at Scripture, and makes a mock of Sin, plays with eternal Flames, and scoffs at thofe that fear them. As if the fabled Oracles were but a Legend of idle Tales, and Sin but a Name, coined by Fancy and vain Fears; as if Hell were but a painted Fire, and the Religious a fort of timorous Fools that are afraid of Bugbs, and the Imagery of Dreams: And if thefe are not yet the real Articles of their Creed, their extravagant Fancies, and vile Affections are like, in a fhort time, to incline thefe impure Spirits to make them fo. And this fort of Wits are either Atheifts, or as great Prodigies of Folly, if they are not; fince to believe a God that made, fees, and will judge them, and to judge them, and to scoff at that tremendous-Majefty, before whom their Brother Wits below tremble, to think the Scriptures are the Inspirations of the God of Heaven, the Laws of Souls, and grand Instruments of immortal Happinefs, and yet to droll upon them, and to jeft with the Records of Eternity, to believe endless Torments, and everlafting Joys in the State immediately fucceeding thefe our fhort and uncertain Beings, and yet to fport with the Wrath of God, and to make Tricks at eternal Terrors, to talk trivially of beatifical Enjoyments, and to make as bold with Heaven, as they do with an imaginary *Elyfium*. Thefe, I fay, are Follies, thefe are degrees of Impudence, beyond all Aggravation, or poffibility of Exprefion, and did not fad Experience fhew them, one would fcarce believe there were fuch prodigious Monfters in Nature. And to thefe things I add,

(3.) THESE idle Drollifts have an utter Antipathy to all the braver and more generous kinds of Knowledge. For that they are perfectly indifpofed for Philofophy, and all deep Researches, I have faid fome things that may fuffice for Proof already. And I add this Obfervation to confirm it, That among the numerous Youths I have feen bred in a great School, and in the Univerfity, I have noted, that thofe of them who were moft remarkable for Waggifhnefs and Jefting, feldom arrived to any great Maturities or Capacity for things of confequence and weight. And indeed, frolicknefs of Fancy, and folidity of Judgment, require difpofitions of Brain that are ve-

ry different, and such as seldom meet in great degrees, but in some very few extraordinary Tempers. But generally, I believe the *Droll* is very unfit for matters of sublimity and substance, and therefore, as I intimated, endeavours by his scoffs and injuries to make them appear as much below his serious notice, as they are indeed above his reach, and in this Design he hath many great advantages for his abuses. For the Pedantry of Disputers that make a loud claim to Knowledge, the Vanity of the extravagant sort of Chymists, the fond Boasts of some bold Pretenders to Philosophy and Experiment, the strangeness of things that soberer Inquisitors declare practicable, but have not yet succeeded, the meanness and seeming contemptibleness of many subjects, the Experimenter is often obliged to deal in, these afford plausible Arguments for Drolling Harangues, and those advantages are taken to make the most useful Theories and Endeavours appear ridiculous and vain.

AND for the Encouragement of the Phantastick in his insolent Humour of injustice and abuse, there is a certain Envy in Mankind against those that attempt any thing extraordinary, which makes Men willing to embrace and applaud that which exposeth what themselves cannot act nor comprehend, by reason of which ill Nature in the generality, yea even of those that pretend to something, this kind of Wit becomes the most pestilent Enemy to Knowledge, and its improvements, especially to Philosophick Wisdom. For Philosophy can shame and disable all the Reasons that can be urged against it, but Jest and loud Laughter are not to be confuted, and yet these are of more force to degrade a thing in the esteem of some sort of Spirits, than the most potent Demonstrations. And the mischief of it is, that these Quibblers and Buffoons that have some little scraps of Learning, match'd with a great proportion of Confidence, have commonly the luck to be celebrated among the Vulgar, for Men of great Parts and Knowledge, and that Opinion of them gains credit to their Insolencies and Abuses.

BUT, Sir, I perceive my Zeal against those Pedlers of Wit, hath transported me to your Trouble. I therefore make an abrupt return to my other Reason mentioned

tioned of Men's disbelief of the Being of Witches and Apparitions, and that is :

ATHEISM, the Folly of which accursed Madnefs, you, Sir, have fo fully difcovered to the World in your incomparable Works, and fo thoroughly underftand the Myfteries of that black Conſpiracy againſt Heaven, that it would be fond for me to think to ſuggeſt any Notion on the Subject which you could not teach. But, Sir, I have a Relation about this matter to make you, which I believe, you will not be unwilling to hear ; and you ſhall have it, when I have taken notice, that there is a *latent Atheiſm* at the root of the *Saducean* Principle. For too many deny Witches, becauſe they believe there are no Spirits, and they are ſo perſuaded, becauſe they own no Being in the World but Matter, and the reſults of Motion, and conſequently can acknowledge nothing of a God.

It hath, indeed, been a Queſtion, whether 'tis poſſible there ſhould be ſuch a Prodigy as a *Speculative Atheiſt* in Nature, and I could wiſh it were ſo ſtill. But, alas ! our Age and Experience hath ended the Diſpute, and we need not ſearch the dark and barbarous corners of *America*, nor ſeek the Monster among the wild Men of the Deſert, we have found him in times of Light, in a witty and civiliz'd Region, and in an Age of the greateſt Knowledge and Improvements : He ſkulks not among the thickeſt of the Woods, nor ſeeks Caverns for concealment, but braves the Sun, and appears in the cleareſt Day. And the Fool is not ſo modeſt as he was in the Days of the royal Prophet, to ſay only in his Heart, *There is no God*. We know a bolder ſort of Infidels, and I can ſay, Sir, from a particular Experience, that there are thoſe who deny the Exiſtence of a Deity. I met with one ſuch ſome Years ſince in *London*, who confidently, and without mincing, denied that there was any ſuch Being, and bid me prove it. I wondred at the Boldneſs, as well as the Impiety of his ſaying, and becauſe I had a great Compaſſion for one in ſo deplorable a State, I reſolv'd not to exaſperate him by Paſſion, hard Words, or damning Sentences, but calmly and without ſeeming Emotion, diſcourſed the Buſineſs with him. I granted him all I ſafely or reaſonably could, and all that might ſerve my deſign for his Conviction, before we began the cloſe

Engagement; that so he might have less prejudice against what was said by one whom he might see not to be of a narrow confined Judgment, and that I might not have the disadvantage of being put upon the impugning of Principles, which are plausible by the great Names or Reasons of any eminent Philosophers, and that were not absolutely necessary for the Defence of the Proposition for which I undertook.

III. SUCH were the *Platonick Anima Mundi*, the Eternity and Immensity of the World, which, Sir, though I should not affirm, yet I would not at that time deny, but quietly granted them as Hypotheses, being willing to permit his belief of these in order to the convincing and disabusing him in his main and deadly Conclusion. And by those Concessions I gain'd the advantages I expected. For hereby he was disappointed of all those Plausibilities which I perceived he was wont to urge for those Doctrines. And I saw that when he was press'd with the necessity of a Cause of all things, and a first, his Refuge was that old *Epicurean* one, of an eternal infinite Matter, which when his unwary Opposites would attempt to disprove by endeavouring to demonstrate the Beginning and Finiteness of the World, they gave him the opportunity of a colourable Defence, and diverted him from the main Thesis, which might be evinced though the Immensity and Eternity of the Universe were granted; and so they let him go from an Assertion that is most impious and absurd, to another which is tolerably accountable and specious. And the Conclusion would be at last, that since the Undertaker could not prove the World was not Infinite and Eternal, he could not make it appear that there was a God. By which procedure the Arguer falls from a Proposition which is the most demonstrable one in Nature, to another which cannot be cleared but by supposing the main thing in Question.

BUT besides this shift, which my Concession made insignificant: When my Atheist was urged with the Order, Harmony, Contrivance, and Wisdom that is visible in the Creatures, he would betake him to his *Anima Mundi*, the Existence of which, when those other Antagonists he had dealt with would endeavour to overthrow, then they

they took a thing of harder probation than the main Conclusion.

I say, therefore, Sir, I permitted him to assume these Principles, and then proved, That though the World were *Immense* and *Eternal*, yet, That 'tis not possible meer *blind* unguided *Matter* should shuffle itself into such *regular* and *accurate* Productions as we see are the Results of every Day, without Manuduction of some *knowing Agent* and *Contriver*, as you have fully made good in your excellent *Antidote*. And when he at this turn took sanctuary in an *Anima Mundi*, as the Cause of all the art and exactness in Nature, I granted him the Being; but ask'd him, whether he took it for a Substance that was *Intelligent*, or devoided of Reason and Perception. When he seemed to incline to this latter, I shew'd him that such a *Principle* as had no *sense* or *knowledge* signified no more to this purpose, than if he had stuck in the Hypothesis of meer *Matter* and *Motion*. But when he allowed his great Soul to be an *Intellectual* Being, as he at last did, and that it was *Immense* and *Eternal*, (as he was forced to do by his Assertion; that this Soul was diffused through the whole Mass of his *Infinite* and *Eternal* Matter) I shewed him, that in effect he was brought by his own Principles to the acknowledgment of a God, though he gave him another Name.

THUS, Sir, I pursued my Infidel into all his Starting-holes and Retreats, and drive him from one Assertion to another, its contradictory; and then back again upon the Thesis, and so up and down till at length he began to be ashamed of his shuffling, and confess'd, that I had said to him more than he had heard, and some things that he would consider. He desired that I would give him the Substance of my Discourse in Writing, which I prepared for him, and shall, perhaps, e'er long give an account of these and other dependant Matters to the Publick.

AFTER the heat of the Engagement was over, I was willing to learn by what means he came into that desperate Infidelity, and understood from him, * That he had run through the several Stages of Modern Sects, not stopping till he came down that *Sink* of Folly and Madness, *Quakerism*, and thence made a step into
Atheism,

Atheism, which is no great leap; for East and West at long run meet and are the same. And certainly he that places his *Religion* in *Opinions*, and judgeth it now to lie in this form of Belief, and then in another, when he comes to consider the vast variety of Sects, the confidence of each in his own Reasonings, the pretences of all to the *Scripture Reasoning* and *Antiquity*, the Antipathy they have one against another, and the doubtfulness, if not falshood, of things that each of them hold sacred and certain; I say, he that takes *Religion* to be an adherence to *Sects* and *Opinions*, upon the accounts mention'd, when he reflects, is in mighty danger of being an *Atheist*. And except he fix at last upon the few plain acknowledged Essentials of Belief and good Life, (if he be of an anxious inquisitive Mind, and not obstinately resolved in the way of his particular Sect) 'tis a Miracle if he ends not there at last. For he having establish'd this, That Religion consists in the way or form of some *Party* or other, and then having successively deserted those Sects that had most of his Favour and Affection, and so past from one to another through all the steps of Descent, when at length he is faln out with the last, he hath nothing else to fly to but Contempt of all *Religion* as a meer *Juggle* and *Imposture*. This I took to be this Gentleman's Case, and I believe much of the general *Atheism* of our days is to be ascribed to this cause.

THUS, Sir, I have followed the humour of Writing, as it led me, and expect your pardon of this Ramble upon the account of that liberty which uses to be allowed in Intercourses of this Nature, and more from that Friendship with which you are pleased to honour,

SIR,

Your affectionate

humble Servant,

J. G.

O B S E R-

OBSERVATIONS

On some Passages in the foregoing *Letter*.

THIS Letter was left out in the former Edition, the *Publisher* confining it to fewer Sheets, that there might be the more room left for Stories. But the forepart so particularly satisfying *Objections* and *Queries* touching the stirs in Mr. *Mompesson's* House, and the rest being so well levelled against *Saducism* and *Atheism*, (the routing of which is the scope and design of the whole Book) and it being written with that smartness of Wit and soundness of Judgment for the main, I thought fit to take it in again in this new Edition of *Saducismus Triumphatus*, as a piece sufficiently congenerous thereto. And it is published unalteredly in every respect, unless in one word that was rather *French* than *English*, and so not so easy to pass with the vulgar. And now it is republished, I think it not amiss to bestow some few *Advertisements* on it, as has been done on several other pieces of this Book.

SECT. I. *Those Objections you pick'd up, &c.* Though the more perfect *Narrative*, in the last Edition, of the stirs of *Tedworth*, made this part of this Letter less necessary, yet if any one consider the particular satisfaction here given to every *Objection* and *Query*, and compare it with the aforesaid *Narrative*, I believe he will confess it was worth the while to take in again, in this second Edition, this Letter omitted in the former.

I. *And must we call this Wit, Sir, &c.* Certainly not *Wisdom*, nor *Wit* in the utter Sense and Meaning of the Word, as it signifies a sound and able Faculty of the Mind, whether natural or improved, to discern and judge of things. But the *Wit* that is so called now a days, is rather the *Paralytick* motions, or *Antick* Dances of that Faculty that is properly to be called *Wit*, than the genuine operations thereof, the demitting of that to meaner Offices,

fices, which God has given us for *better* purposes. And as *J. G.* phrases it, to turn *Drolls* and *Fiddlers* to the *Atheist*, to make his Worship merry. Which is a very mean employment for so noble a Being as the Rational Soul of Man.

II. *For Government you know, Sir, &c.* What the Writer of this Letter delivers, in this Section, is worth the most serious consideration of all Men, that are not so well affected to Government as they ought to be. Whose Authority is certainly most *Sacred*, and their *Rule*, if it be *tolerable, exceeding commendable*, those in high Places having such strong Temptations from the flatteries and circumventions of cunning Parasites and forcible attempts of *Things*, whereby they are attacked daily, and too often drawn into mistakes before they be aware. Upon which, for others to insult, is a most savage and inhumane thing, and quite contrary to the Law of Charity, which is the indispensable Rule of a Christian, who cannot but think such demeanors as coarse and barbarous, as the sporting at a Man's breaking a Limb by a fall from an Horse, or his being cast into some desperate sickness. Beside, that to *sport* at such things is to give themselves the *Lye*; and when they would pretend them great and heinous misdemeanors, to acknowledge them more slight, else how could they be the *due* Object of *Wit* and *Drollery*. I repeat it again, and indeed, I have often and often thought of it, that Princes and grand Ministers of State, that may seem to acquit themselves tolerably well, do really acquit themselves exceeding well, considering the high Temptations they have, and are worthy of all Loyal Affection and Honour. How highly then are those Princes to be honoured, and sincerely loved, who rule well, and have a real tender regard to the peace and welfare of all their Subjects. The other two parts of this Section are penned down so full and home, and with that briskness and Judgement, that nothing can be added that may not seem superfluous.

III. *Such were the Platonick Anima Mundi, the Eternity and Immensity of the World, which, Sir, though I should not affirm, yet I would not at that time deny, &c.* This passage is set down with caution and discretion, in that he professes these Concessions were only *ad hominem*, and made so good use of, that he caught his Adversary

versary in his own Net, who being forced by dint of Argument to acknowledge that the Phænomena of the World could not but be from a knowing Principle, but casting it upon his *Anima Mundi*, to avoid the Profession of a Deity, by his granting, (because of the *Eternity* and *Immensity* of the *Matter*) this *Anima* to be *immense* and *eternal*, as well as *knowing*, he was forced to acknowledge, in a considerable sort, a Deity whether he would or no. Better thus far than to be down right dull *Atheist*. But I must confess I do not hold any one an *Orthodox Deist*, that does not hold the *Matter* created of God, as well as contrived by his Wisdom into such *Phænomena* as appear in the World.

BESIDES he might have puzzled and confounded the *Atheist* in demonstrating that the World (being an orderly continuance of things in successive motion and duration) could not be *ab æterno*. First, because it is plain and undeniable, that in *successive* duration every Moment that is past was some time present, and therefore, since they all must be one after another, that all, at least but one, were sometime to come. Which plainly evinces the World could not be *ab æterno*. Again, this is most certainly true, that be the World supposed as much *ab æterno* as you will, yet according to the order of Nature and Time, there was *Life* before there was any *Death*, and a *Standing* of Spirits before any *Fall*. He might here therefore demand of the *Atheist* how long it was e're any *Death* was, or *Lapse* of any order of Beings to a worse State. Was it an infinity of time before that. And thirdly, and lastly, If there has been an *eternal* and *infinite* *Succession* of time till now, how come we to find ourselves in Being. For if from us, suppose in the time B, backwards, the *Succession* is *infinite*, it is likewise infinite *ab æterno*, or from A to B. And as he can never come in *Succession* to A, backward from B, because it is infinite, so *Succession* from A to B being alike infinite, it could never come to our turn to be in Being. Nothing but *stable* and *unsuccessive* duration can be *infinite* where there is nothing *past*, nor *to come*. From this *eternal NUNC STANS*, wherein there is nothing *to come*, and which it is impossible to be *successive* (and therefore nothing by supposing it *successive* can be really argued from it) doth *successive* duration commence,

mence, which it is alike impossible to be *eternal* or *infinite*.

INDEED if the *Infinity* was not in *Succession*, but once as *infinite Space*, I grant that we might be in a set point of it, which would look like the term of suppose, its *Eastern Infinity* butting upon us, from Term you might conceive an infinite Line thence *Eastward*, and such as we nor any other moveable thing could get to the end of it, it being Infinite. And as certain it is, that no moveable thing which took its motion absolutely from the *Eastern Infinity*, could ever come to us, or to the Point where we are, the length being as infinite forwards from the *Eastern Infinity*, as it is back again thitherward from us, there being the same distance, as *Aristotle* somewhere speaks, *from Thebes to Athens, and from Athens to Thebes*. Which farther may illustrate the impossibility of finding ourselves here in Being, if the *successive* duration of the World has been *ab eterno*. For it being as infinite from A to B as from B to A. it is manifest it could never fall to our share to exist the time we do, it being an *infinite* distance from A and never to be run through. This point of the impossibility of *successive* Durations being *eternal* or *infinite*, it is sufficient that I but touch on it here, I having so fully handled it in my *Enchiridion Metaphysicum*, and cleared it from all Objections and Evasions whatsoever. See *cap. 10.* and the *Scholia* thereon. Where also you may see how little Reason there is to hold the *Matter* of the World *infinite*, and that it is part of the *Essential Sanctity* and singular *Transcendency* of the *exalted nature* of God, that *He* alone be *Eternal* as to *Duration*, and *Immense* in *Amplitude*.

AND the suffering God to be an *Anima Mundi*, though it served J. G. his turn at that bout, yet this also is hugely against the *Essential Sanctity* of the *Divine Majesty*, whose excellency it is infinitely below, to grow as it were into one *Suppositum* with the visible World. Which error might be a main foundation or prop of much of the Idolatry of the ancient *Pagans*. There is no *Anima Mundi*, but what is purely a *Creature*, and that is the *Spirit of Nature*, so far from being a God, that it scarce has any *Perception* but only an *Omniiform Plastic* power, or *Vital Laws* of ordering the *Matter* of the World, imparted to it *essentially* from the *Wisdom* of God. To call this an
Anima

Anima Mundi, may be sense good enough. But the *Platonick* *Θεία Ψυχή*, or *Anima Divina*, which answers to the *Holy Spirit* in our *Christian Trinity*, they are the third *Hypostases* of the *pure Deity* in both, of an *eternal*, *necessary*, and *immutable* essence and existence, and therefore in no wise are *creatural*, but *purely Divine*, and were before ever the *World* was or could be.

AND now the *World* is, there is no need of any *Hypostatical Union* betwixt the *Platonick Divine Soul*, and it, to be conscious of what things happen here, or to moderate the *Matter* of the *World*. For the latter is done by the *Spirit of Nature*, and the former requires no such *Union*, since we ourselves have the perception of what is no part of our own *Suppositum*. But as we see things reflected from a *Looking-glass*, our *Eye* having no *Hypostatical Union* therewith, so are all the *Energies* of this exterior *Creation* reflected into the perception of the *Deity*, without any such derogatory *Union* of the *Godhead* therewith. According as is expressed by the learned *Dr. Beaumont* in his *Psychozoia*, *Cant. i. Stanz. 50.*

*In this clear shining Mirrour Psyche sees
All that falls under sense, what e're is done
Upon the Earth, the Deserts, shaken Trees,
The mournful Winds, the solitary wonne
Of dreaded Beasts, the Libyan Lions moan,
When their hot Entrails scorch with hunger keen,
And they to God for Meat do deeply groan,
He hears their cry, he sees of them unseen,
His Eyes encompass all that in the wide World been.*

*He sees the weary Traveller sit down
In the vast Field of times with careful cheer.
His chafed Feet and the long way to Town
His burning thirst, faintness and Panick fear
Because he sees not Him that stands so near,
Fetch from his Soul deep sighs with count'nance sad,
But He looks on to whom naught doth disappear.
O happy Man that full persuasion had
Of this, if right at home nought of him were ydrad.*

AND

AND then again, *Stanz. 54.* is there more expressly mention of this *Mirroure*, even for the representing of *Sounds* to set out the perfectness of these exterior perceptions in the Divine Nature, that they are rather *active* than *passive*, as *Scaliger* says the Sight is, though other Senses be not. Whence *ὁρᾶν* signifying transitively, governs an *Accusative* Case, when other *Verbs* of *sense* govern a *Genitive*, as he is pleased to Criticize. But the abovesaid Stanza is this.

*Do not I see? I slumber not nor sleep,
Do not I hear, each noise by shady Night
My Mirroure represents, when Mortals steep
Their languid Limbs in Morpheus dull delight,
I hear such sounds as Adam's brood would fright.
The doleful Eccho's from the hollow Hill
Mock howling Wolves, the Woods with black benight
Answer rough Pan his Pipe, and eke his skill
And all the Satyr-routs rude whoops and shoutings shrill.*

ACCORDING to that in the *Book of Wisdom*, chap. i. v. 7. *For the Spirit of the Lord fills the whole World, and he that containeth all things, hath knowledge of the Voice.*

FOR as it is the height of the Excellency of the *Divine Essence* and *Energy*, not only to be *infinite* in itself, but also to be able to create another *Essence* with its *Energy*, distinct from itself, such as this orderly Universe is, so is it likewise the Perfection of the *Divine Knowledge*, besides, that *Intellectual Omniscieny*, which contains all the Natures and Ideas of things, and the whole comprehension of Providence, with the Series thereof from everlasting to everlasting all at once, unalterably and immoveably; which *Intellectual Life*, or *Energy* in God, is the *Αἰών* of the *Platonists*, and the true Notion of *Eternity*. I say it is likewise the Perfection of the *Divine Knowledge* to have the Perception of all the *Energies* of the *Creation* as well when they are *in fieri*, and that they are now *in fieri*, when they were not before, as in that *Intellectual* comprehension which is *at once* from everlasting to everlasting. For in an *infinite Life* as God is, there can be no *distinction*, his *animadversion* necessarily being *infinite*. And if we do not give this exterior Perception to him, we cannot be assured

assured that he knows when we pray unto him. Which methinks would be a foul defect, and a great damp to our Devotion. Whenas the other opinion does not only encourage *Devotion*, but naturally strikes also a due *awe* and *reverence* towards him in our Addresses.

I know there are some *dry* Contemplators that would have God to have no new Perceptions, *pro re nata*, lest he might seem in a Physical sense *alterable* or *mutable*. But these are the very Cobwebs and *Quisquilie* of the Schools, who thinned and spread every Attribute of God as to infinite excess as they could, forgetting that one necessary Measure of all his Attributes, *That they be no further applied to him than they imply perfection*. Which is a thing worth our most serious consideration. And certainly it would be an Imperfection in God if he knew not things *past* that they *are past*, things *present* that they *are present*, and things *to come* that they *are yet to come*. But he could not know them to *be past* when they were *to come to*, or to *be present* when they are *to come* or *past*, or that they are *yet to come* when they are *present*. And therefore you must either make God ignorant of things here below, or make his exterior Perceptions change as the scene of things change *ad extra*, or else his Perceptions will prove *false*, which is intolerable to admit either in Philosophy or Theology. Thus I have run out before I was aware, but I hope it is not an useless excursion. For nothing can move a man more to do all things with all Faithfulness and Decorum both in private and before Men than to remember that the All-present God is really a *Hearer* of his Words, and *Seer* of his Actions.

That he had run through the several Stages of modern Sects, not stopping till he came down to that sink of folly and madness Quakerism, and thence made a step into Atheism, &c. This is a remarkable passage of his Letter, and worth our considering. I must confess that his expression here of the condition of *Quakerism* is very sharp and Satyrical, to call it that *sink* of *Madness* and *Folly*, which therefore I conceive he spake with an eye to their first appearance, which was very *uncouth* and *frantick*, and not at all like the appearance of the Apostles of *Jesus Christ*, but as it were of so many *Demoniacs*. Which Scene, though true, being so unpleasant, I will not repeat here, having spoke enough of it in my *Mystery of Godliness*, lib. 4. cap. 6. and lib. 10. cap. 13. And the

precedent Story of him at *Belsbam* that was inveigled in *Quakerism* is of the same suit. But to deal impartially touching them, if we take our measures from *Robert Barklay's* Apology, which represents them as they were when he wrote, which is not passing five or six years ago, they are very much changed from what they were first, for the better, and a most just and impartial estimate I have made of them, and of their way, in my *Scholia* upon my *Divine Dialogues*, Dialog. 5. Sect. 15. Which he that is curious, may peruse, in the second Tome of my *Volumen Philosophicum*. But that Apology of *R. Barkclay's* was many years after this Letter of *Joseph Glanvill* to myself, which may the better excuse him for the severity of this passage. And how natural and easy a step there is out of *Enthusiasm*, into *Atheism*, I have noted in my *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus*.

BUT of what danger it is to forsake the Communion of the *Truly Catholick Church*, such as is purged from the gross dregs of Antichristian Superstition and Idolatry, the example of him at *Balsbam* and this *Atheist*, whom *J. G.* conversed with, are egregious Instances. To forsake the sentiments of the ancient Apostolick Church (for such are the Reformed Churches freed from the filth of the predicted Apostasy, and such in a special manner is the Church of *England*) to follow any *private Spirit* is such a piece of folly and giddiness, that the extravagance thereof is above expression, and the danger so obvious, that they must be very blind and stupid that discern it not at first sight. All are not born to be Philosophers or Theologers, and to have a faculty to decide Controversies by the edge of their own Wit and Reason. Wherefore it is both duty and safety to adhere to the sense of the Church Catholick before the Apostasy, such as it was for about four hundred years after *Christ*. Within which time the *Divinity* of *Christ*, and the *Triunity* of the *Godhead* was professed as publick Articles of the Church, and the distinction of *Bishops* and *Presbyters* owned. Whence it is demonstrable how *innocent* the one is, and how *Orthodox* the other. For if the Articles of the *Divinity* of *Christ* and *Triunity* of the *Godhead* were false, they had also been *Idolatrous*, and the Apostasy had begun much sooner than it is predicted to begin in that admirable *Book of Prophecies* the *Apocalypse*. Nor were the late *Reformation*, which yet certainly it is (and I have undeniably demonstrated

monstrated it in the Second Part of my *Appendage* to my *Exposition of Daniel's Visions*) the *Rising of the Witnesses*. For they had been strange Witnesses that should still profess the *Divinity of Christ*, and *Triunity of the Godhead*, if those Articles were false, since it necessarily follows that they were *ipso facto*, grossly Idolatrous; or retained *Episcopacy* if it had been *Antichristian*. These things are so exceeding plain, that no man can deny them that has parts and leisure, and without prejudice considers them. And if the *Sectaries* that pretend so much to the *Spirit* above others, had the Spirit of interpreting and understanding Prophecies aright, it would convince them of their Error and Schism. But if this slowly goes down with them, they are to examine themselves, if it be not an humour in them to deny any such *Symmetrall* times of the Church, for about four hundred years, that they may still find matter for *eternal Cavils* and *Schisms*.

BUT now the main Articles of our Faith being thus redoubledly assured to us, both by the *Symmetricalness* of the *Primitive Times* for about four hundred years, and the *Testimonies* of the *Risen Witnesses*, of which Political Resurrection neither *Quaker*, *Familist*, nor *Socinian* partook of, as appears by the *Harmony of Confessions* of the *Reformed Churches*, no Reformed Church owning their opinions, how just, how sober and christian a thing is it for every private Man to adhere to this common Faith touching these main Articles, and not to commit himself to these *Ignes Fatui* of *private Spirits*, which may lead him so about as at last to plunge him into the dregs of *Atheism*, as it happened to this Gentleman?

THAT Spirit which leads from the *Communion of the Ancient Apostolick Church* (which is as a light set upon an Hill and so certainly to be known by those two Characters abovementioned) and carries Men into the dark holes of *Schismatical* Conventicles, is most assuredly, let them pretend to what they will, the Spirit of Error, and a delusion of the Devil, and a certain Symptom that such Men are *Carnal*, as highly as they think of themselves, *having not the Spirit*, most assuredly having not the Spirit in that measure whereby they become such living Members of the *true Catholick Church*, which is the *Body of Christ*, that they plainly

feel what hurts it, at least what palpably stops its growth, what wounds it, what hazards the very life and being of it. Can they pretend to the *Spirit of Christ* in any due measure that are devoid of this necessary Sympathy and Sense of the common good of *his Body*, and the *Interest of his Kingdom* which is *Christendom*. The enemies whereof what do they desire? what do they endeavour more than to divide and subdivide us? to hurry us into opinions and practises as unlike the ancient Apostolick Church as may be; to make us appear as whimsical and ungovernable as they can, thereby to expose us to *contempt* and *loathing*, and to harden the hearts of the Princes and Prelates of *Christendom* against a just Reformation, and those that have Reformed, to make them half sick and weary of the Reformation, by reason of the unsettledness and distraction of the people. Does the Spirit of Christ then lean to the destroying and laying waste his own Church and Kingdom? Certainly that Spirit that hinders the growth, and hazards the Being of the Kingdom of *Christ*, must be not the *Spirit of God*, but the Spirit of *Giddiness*, of *Error* and *Delusion*.

WHEREFORE the ancient Authority of the Church, while it was *Symmetrall*, is to be acknowledged, and those main points touching *Faith* and *Worship* to be adher'd to, and professed; the Holy Ghost having set his Seal thereto in those Divine Prophecies of the *Apocalypse*, and this detestable *Pride* and loathsome *Ingratitude* (whenas things are so well settled by Lawful Authority in the late *Rising of the Witnesses*) thus to break from so *Authentick* a *Constitution*, and set up *Schismatical* *Congregations*, is heartily to be repented of, nor are we any longer to be deluded by that false Spirit that under pretence of bringing in a more pure and Spiritual Dispensation, undermines and hazards the very Being of the true Kingdom of Christ, by this odious Spectacle of Multifarious Schism.

It is not the breath of any mere Man that can convey the Spirit of God to us, and it is a false pretence of these high-flown *Spiritualists*, that think that in their *Schismatical* *Worship* they have nearer communion with God, than those that adhere to the way of the Ancient Apostolick *Faith* and Practice. For they in their Meeting
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are but taught by *Men*, and those speaking the sense of a *Private Spirit*, they being Straglers from the Fold of Christ, as having bid adieu to the Ancient Catholick and Apostolick Church, of which yet the Church of *England*, which they have forsaken, is a genuine part, and therefore its *Ministry* more *safe* and *authoritative*, they speaking the sense of the ancient Apostolick Church, not any blind conceits or fancies of their own. And saving operations of the *Spirit*, nothing is more inculcated than that in our Publick Service. Nor is the *Ministry* of *Man* so much the conveyer of it, as the *Sincerity* of the *Party*, who desires to partake of it. It is the gift of Christ to the Sincere, who has told us from his own Mouth here upon Earth; *That blessed are they that hunger and thirst after Righteousness, for they shall be satisfied.*

It is not the hearing of a *gracious* Man once or twice a Week, or being present sometime in the Meetings, whether *Silent* or *Vocal*, of a company of fullen *Melancholists* or *Histrionical Mock-Prophets*, but a firm and unshaken *Faith* in the *Power* of the *promised Spirit of Christ*, for the subduing our Corruptions, a fixt and continued resolution of not offending the God of Heaven in any thing small or great, a close guard upon our Words and Actions, as having a sense of the Presence of the Divine Majesty all the day long, a perpetual exercise of mortifying the Impetuosities of our own Will, and of extinguishing all the sweet Relishes of Self-interest and Vain-glory, and a constant endeavour of wholly resigning ourselves to God and his service, who has wholly made us Body and Soul, and strictly and conscientiously walking according to *His Will* revealed in his *written Word*, that is the method of attaining to a more near Communion with God, and the only way of more fully participating of his Spirit. And this certainly may as well be done, holding still communion with the Church of *England*, as in any new-fangled way that either the *cunning* of *Man* or *subtilty* of *Satan* can invent. And therefore it is rather a *wanton* kind of *Hypocrisy* in Men, or *Insincerity* to true Religion indeed, that makes them break from the Establish'd Religion of the Church of *England* reformed according

according to the old *Symmetrall* and *Apostolical* Patern, than any colour of necessity driving them thereto.

AND thus much briefly to those high flown *Spiritualists*. But what I now shall utter is still more weighty, forasmuch as it concerns a greater number of Men, that have an honest inclination to Religion, but their Education, Parts, and Calling does not capacitate them to make so strick inquiry into the Doctrines thereof, as others may make, but seek some *External Authority* to support their Faith, and thereby lie obnoxious to the sollicitations of the *Emissaries* of *Rome* who boast so much in the *safe Anchorage* of their Church. To these Men therefore I appeal, what can be more safe for them to adhere to the *Authority* and Profession of the *Ancient Apostolick* and *truly Catholick* Church, such as it was found before the *Apostacy*, and is born witness to in the Oracles of the Holy Scripture, as I have above declared; To adhere, I say, and keep close to this steady Rock, and stop their Ears against the vain pretences of any idle *Fanatical New-lights*, or bold *Enthusiasts*. Now he that adheres to the Church of *England*, does adhere to this ancient Apostolick Church, the Church of *England* being reformed to that Patern, as to the Frame of *Government* and Articles of *Faith*, and for the Precepts of an holy Life, besides what occurs in our *Liturgy*, *Litany*, and *Catechism*, they are so plain in the Scripture, and so fully and effectually declared by those of our own Church in *Printed Sermons*, and several other Writings, to say nothing of the good Preaching up and down, and no well-minded Christian can want any due Instruction.

THIS is a Consideration the best accommodate that I know to keep us all in one, which is to acknowledge the *Authority* and *Undeceivedness* in matters of any moment, though not *Undeceivableness* or *Infallibility* of the ancient Catholick Church, before the Apostacy came in. Which *true* and *just* ground will give us all the advantages, and more, than that false Boast of the *Roman* Church, as if *she*, forsooth, were *Infallible*, and therefore Irrefragable. Whenas that one Tenent of *Transubstantiation* alone, sufficiently demonstrates it to be a shameless Pretence, that Doctrine being plainly a Far-
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del of *Impossibilities* and *Contradictions*, to say nothing of their infinite *Superstitions*, *Impostures*, and gross *Idolatries*, and barbarous and bloody *Persecutions*, and *Murders* for not submitting to them. So that she is a Church all over besmear'd with *Sordidly-gainful Superstitions*, *Idolatries*, and *Blood*. And therefore she being deprehended so grossly and enormously *Erroneous* or *Imposturous* and *Deceitful*, and supporting all her impious Opinions upon that single pretence of her *Infallibility*, she has manifestly *forfeited* her Credit before all the World, and most justly lost her Authority, that no Man can, unless he be bewitch'd, lean upon this broken Reed of *Egypt*, which is a fictitious and certainly false pretence to *Infallibility* by an apostatized Church, shamelessly obtruding upon those they can deceive, all the abominations that are declared against in *Daniel* and the *Apocalypse*, where the *Visions* represent the state of those times into which this grand Apostasy fell. What blindness therefore or madness is it in any Man to repose himself on the Authority of such a Church. God open the Eyes of all Men that mean sincerely in Religion, that they never fall into such a foul Ditch as this. But the Church of *England* keeping to the ancient *Symmetrical* Church, to whom the Divine Oracles bear witness, is in truth *infallible* in the main points above-mentioned, and in all things else material to Salvation, and therefore all sorts of People learned and unlearned may safely embosom themselves in her so long as she continues such, which I wish may be for ever.

In the mean time we see what a mighty advantage it would be if that, as our own Church in particular, so all the *Reformed Churches* would jointly exhibit the same unexceptionable Patern of Antiquity to be followed that bears a just Authority with it, which the generality of Men may safely rely on, and that *Independancy* and the *Guidance* of *private Spirits* seducing Men from the *National Churches* fram'd to that ancient *Platform*, were quite out of fashion in all *Reformed Christendom*, and that all Men with alacrity of Mind and sincerely loyal Affections would shew themselves morigerous to their Supreme Governours. For this is the only effectual and warrantable way that I can conceive for the enlarging the *Kingdom* of our Lord *Jesus*, and the over-throwing

the *Dominion* of *Antichrist*. The other Scene of things, as I noted above, hardens the Hearts of the Princes and Prelates of Christendom, who cannot but think it a sorry Exchange to except of *Presbytery*, which would prove but a *Democratical Papacy*, for the *Order* of *Episcopacy*, or a dismal Spectacle, to see the Body of Christ mouldered into an infinity of *Sects* and *Schisms*, as a dead Carcass dissolved into a multitude of crawling Worms, and the decent Grandeur and Splendour of the Church to dwindle into dispersed companies of obscure Conventicles, and the just and honourable Revenues of it, to shrink into the poor Arbitrarious Pittancies of either the *appointment* of the *State*, or uncertain *Benevolence* of the *Fickle People*. That Scene of things, I say, cannot but harden their Hearts against listening to never so just a Reformation for the further enlargement of Christ's Kingdom, and hazard the very *Being* of the *Reformed Churches*. Whenas this way, which I wish may obtain, would silence *Atheism* and *Fanaticism* at once, and be the readiest means of bringing on those happy times of the Church which God has promised and predicted by the Mouth of his holy Prophets.

BUT this is the gross Iniquity and Madness of the Sectaries, that they think so goodly and choicely every one of their own Party, that they think it worth the while to hazard the safety of Reformed Christendom to support *any how*, and *keep up* for the *present*, the small freaks and conceits of their own self-chosen Way and Sect. Than which nothing can be conceived more enormous and outrageous amongst the dealings of the Sons of Men, to bring into imminent danger so *solemn* and *sacrosanct* a *Constitution* as the *Reformation*, for the *dreams* and *opinions* of *private Spirits*, which no sober Christian would hazard for small indifferent dispensable things, though they had the stamp of *publick allowance* upon them, which it is, and ought to be, in the hand of the Sovereign Power to alter for the common good. And verily this *Fanatical* distemper is so heinous and abominable, that they that are on the *right* side, ought to take heed how in the least shew they imitate it. For a Man may be *factiously* affected even in a *right* cause, and bear an over-proportionated zeal for things of smaller concern, out of an over-heightned Animosity

Animosity against the present Sects, to the hazarding of the quiet settlement of the whole. And, if any one be so affected, I appeal to the sober, if he may not justly be reputed to play the *Sectarian* himself, though it be against the *Sectaries*. No such cure for our breaches and wounds as the most *profound Humility* in all Parties, and *unfeigned mutual Love and Charity*. Of which Virtues or Graces whosoever is found destitute, let him call himself (of whatever denomination) *Christian*, as loud as he please, he has really in him *not one spark of saving Christianity*.

THUS have I run out again farther than I was aware of, one thing drawing on another. But I hope I have hit on some things, which if seriously considered, and duly improved by those that are most concerned, may contribute their share, to the peace and settlement of the Church of *Christ*, which should be the aim and desire of us all.





A N ACCOUNT

Of what happened in the

KINGDOM of *Sweden*,

In the Years 1669, 1670, and upwards.

In Relation to some Persons that were accused for *Witches*; and Tried and Executed by the King's Command: Together with the Particulars of a very sad Accident that befel a Boy at *Malmoe*, in *Schonen*, in the Year 1678, by the means of *Witchcraft*, attested by the ablest and most judicious Men of that Town. Done from the *High-Dutch*, by ANTHONY HORNECK, D. D.

INTRODUCTION.

THAT we are to believe nothing, but what we have seen, is a rule so false, that we dare not call ourselves rational Creatures, and avouch it; yet as irrational as the maxim is, 'tis become modish with some Men, and those no very mean Wits neither, to make use of it; and though they will hardly own it in its full latitude, yet when it comes to particulars, let the reason to the contrary be never so pregnant or convincing, they'll hug it as their sacred Anchor, and
laugh

laugh at all those credulous Wretches, that without seeing, are so easily chous'd into an imprudent confidence. And this pitiful Stratagem we find practis'd in no affair so much as that of Spirits and Witches, and Apparitions, which must all be Fancies, and Hypochondriack Dreams, and the effects of distempered Brains, because their own are so dull as not to be able to pierce into those Mysteries. I do not deny but the Imagination may be, and is sometime deluded; and melancholy People may fancy they hear Voices, and see very strange things, which have no other foundation but their own weakness, and like Bubbles break into Air, and nothing, by their own vanity,

Yet as no Man doth therefore take unpolis'd Diamonds to be Pebbles, because they do look like them, so neither must all passages of this nature, we hear or read of, be traduced as self-conceited, or derided as old Wives Fables, because some smell strong of Imposture and Sophistication. We believe Men of reason and experience, and free from fumes, when a Person of ordinary Intellectuals finds no great credit with us; and if we think ourselves wise for so doing, why should any Man so much forget himself, as to be an Infidel in point of such Phœnomena's, when even the most judicious Men have had experience of such Passages? It seems to me no less than madness to contradict what both wise and unwise Men do unanimously agree in; and how Jews, Heathens, Mahometans and Christians, both learned and unlearned, should come to conspire into this Cheat, as yet seems to me unaccountable. If some few melancholy Monks, or old Women, had seen such Ghosts and Apparitions, we might then suspect, that what they pretended to have seen might be nothing, but the effect of a disordered Imagination; but when the whole World, as it were, and Men of all Religions, Men of all Ages too, have been forced by strong Evidences, to acknowledge the truth of such Occurrences, I know not what strength there can be in the Argument, drawn from the consent of Nations in things of a sublimer Nature, if here it be of no efficacy. Men that have attempted to evade the places of Scripture, which speak of Ghosts and Witches, we see, how they are forced to turn and wind the Texts, and make in a manner Noses of Wax of them, and rather squeeze than
gather

gather the Sense, as if the holy Writers had spoke like Sophisters, and not like Men, who made it their business to condescend to the capacity of the common People. Let a Man put no force at all on those Passages of Holy Writ, and then try what Sense they are like to yield. It's strange to see, how some Men have endeavoured to elude the Story of the Witch of Endor; and as far as I can judge, play more Hocus-pocus tricks in the explication of that passage, than the Witch of herself did, in raising the deceased Samuel. To those straits is Falshood driven, while Truth loves plain and undisguised Expressions; and Error will seek out Holes and Labyrinths to hide itself, while Truth plays above-board, and scorns the subterfuges of the Sceptick Interpreter. Men and Brethren, why should it seem a thing incredible with you, that God should permit Spirits to appear, and the Devil to exert his Power among Men on Earth? Hath God ever engaged his Word to the contrary? Or is it against the nature of Spirits to form themselves new Vehicles and visible shapes, to animate grosser substances to shew themselves to Mortals upon certain occasions?

I am so much a Prophet, as to foresee what will be the fate of the ensuing Story, nor can I suppose that upon the reading of it, Men's Verdicts will be much changed from what they were, if they have set up this Resolution, to believe nothing that looks like the shadow of an Apparition, though the things mentioned here, cannot be unknown to any that have been conversant with Foreign Affairs of late Years. And though there cannot be a greater evidence, than the testimony of a whole Kingdom, yet your nicer Men will think it a disparagement to them to believe it; nor will it ever extort Assent from any, that build the reputation of their Wit upon contradicting what hath been received by the Vulgar.

The passages here related wrought so great a Consternation, not only on the Natives, but Strangers too, that the Heer Christian Rumpf, then Resident for the States-General at Stockholm, thought himself obliged to send away his little Son for Holland, lest he should be endangered by those villanous Practises, which seem'd to threaten all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom. And he that doubts of it, may be satisfy'd at Dr. Harrel's in St. James's Park;

to whom the Letter was written. And a Friend of mine in Town, being then in Holstein, remembers very well that the Duke of Holstein sent an Express to the King of Sweden to know the truth of this famous Witchcraft; To whom the King modestly reply'd, That his Judges and Commissioners had caused divers Men, Women, and Children to be burnt and executed upon such pregnant Evidences, as were brought before them; but whether the Actions they confessed, and which were proved against them, were real, or only effects of strong Imagination, he was not, as yet, able to determine.

Add to all this, that the Circumstances mentioned in the ensuing Narrative, as I am informed, are at this Day to be seen in the Royal Chancery at Stockholm, and a Person of my Acquaintance offered me to procure a Copy of them under the Hands of publick Registers, if I desired it: Not to mention that in the Year 72, Baron Sparr, who was sent Ambassador from the Crown of Sweden to the Court of England, did upon his word aver the matter of Fact recorded here, to be undoubtedly true, to several Persons of Note and Eminency, with other particulars, stranger than those set down in these Papers. And to this purpose divers Letters were sent from Sweden and Ham-burgh to several Persons here in London; insomuch, that should a Man born in, or acquainted with those Parts, hear any Person dispute the Truth of it, he would wonder where People have lived, or what sullen humour doth possess them, to disbelieve that, which so many Thousands in that Kingdom have felt the sad effects of.

Since the first Edition, it hath been my Fortune to be acquainted with the Lord Leyonbergh, Envoy extraordinary from the King of Sweden, living in York-Buildings, with whom discoursing about these Affairs, I found that the Account he gave, agreed, for the most part, with what is mentioned in the Narrative; and because his Testimony, being a publick Person, may be of some moment in a thing relating to that Kingdom, I have here set it down in his own words:

Having read this Narrative, I could do no less, than upon the Request of the Translator and Publisher of this Story, acknowledge, That to my best remembrance, and according to the best Reports that have been

been made to me, the matter of Fact mentioned in it, is true, and that the Witches confessed such things, and were accordingly Executed.

Witness my Hand,

London, March 8,

1682.

L E Y O N B E R G H.

I do not take upon me to justify the Truth of what the Witches said, for dealing with the Father of Lies, it's probable, Veracity is not Virtue, that they greatly study, yet that the Devil spakes Truth sometimes, is a thing so far from being impossible, that if we give credit to the sacred History, we must grant that all he saith is not false or erroneous. All I design at this time, is only to suggest, that it is not altogether irrational to conceive, that he or his Emissaries are capable of such Actions and Pranks, as are related in these Papers.

That a Spirit can lift up Men and Women, and grosser Substances, and convey them through the Air, I question no more than I doubt that the Wind can overthrow Houses, or drive Stones, and other heavy Bodies, upward from their Centre. And were I to make a Person of a dull Understanding, apprehend the Nature of a Spirit, I would represent it to him under the Notion of an intelligent Wind, or a strong Wind, informed by a highly rational Soul; as a Man may be called an intelligent piece of Earth. And this Notion David seemed to favour, when speaking of these Creatures, Psal. 104. 4. he tells us, that God makes his Angels Wind, for in the Original it's רִיחַ and most certainly, if they be so, they must be reasonable windy Substances; nor doth the Expression, which immediately follows in that Verse, cross this Exposition, viz. That he makes his Ministers a flaming Fire; for it's no new Opinion, that some of those invisible Substances are of a Fiery, and others of an Airy Nature; and as we see, God gives rational Creatures here on Earth, Bodies composed of grosser matter, why should it seem incongruous for him to give rational Creatures above us, Bodies of a subtiler and thinner Matter, or such Matter, as those higher Regions do afford? And if Wind breaking forth
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from the Caverns of Hills, and Mountains have such force, as makes us very often stand amazed at the effects, what Energy might we suppose to be in Wind, were it inform'd by Reason, or a reasonable Being?

And though I cannot comprehend the Philosophy of the Devils committing Venereal Acts, and having Children, and those Children upon their Copulation bringing forth Toads and Serpents, yet I can very rationally conceive, that having more than ordinary power over Matter, he can either animate dead Bodies, and by the help of them commit those Villanies, which Modesty bids us to conceal; or some other way compound, and thicken Atomes into what shape he pleases, especially if he meet with no hindrance from a higher power. And he that was permitted, as we see in the Gospel, to possess and actuate living Men, and do with them almost what he pleased, why may not he commit wickedness by such Instruments, and cast Mists before the Witches Eyes, that they may not know who they are? And he that could in Egypt produce Frogs, either real or counterfeit ones, why may not he be supposed to be able to produce such Toads and Serpents out of any misshapen Creatures, and lumps of Matter of his own compounding, at least represent the shapes of them to the deluded Witches, that they shall imagine them to be really such things as they seem to be. Nor is this to be admired in the Devil more than Tricks are in Jugglers, who by slight of Art can represent things to the ignorant Spectator, which he shall be ready to swear to be real, though they are nothing less, and I suppose we may allow the Devil a greater degree of cunning, than an ordinary Juggler.

However, Spirits that know the Nature of material things better than the deepest Philosophers, and understand better how things are joyned and compounded, and what the Ingredients of Terrestrial productions are, and see things (grosser things at least) in their first principles, and have power over the Air, and other Elements, and have a thousand ways of shaping things, and representing them to the external Senses of vicious Men, what may not they be supposed to be able to do, (if they have but God's permission to exert their power) and that God doth sometimes permit such things, we have reason to believe, who read what sings and wonders Simon Magus, and Apollonius

Apollonius Tyanæus wrought by the power of darkness, and how not a few Men sin to that degree, that God suffers them to be led Captive by the Devil, and dooms them to that slavery we read of in Revelation, He that is filthy, let him be filthy still.

Spirits by being Devils do not lose their Nature; and let any Man in sober sadness consider, what Spirits are said to be able to do in Scripture, and what they have done, and compare those Passages with what is said in the following Relation and he will not think those things the Witches confessed, altogether impossible.

Yet still, as I said before, I do not pretend to be their Advocate, but shall leave it to the Reader to judge of the truth, or untruth of their Confessions, as he sees occasion, only beg of him not to condemn every thing as a Falshood, before due consideration of what Spirits are capable of doing.

That in so great a multitude as were accused, condemn'd, and executed for Witches, there might be some who suffered unjustly, and owed their death more to the Malice of their Neighbours, than to their skill in the black Art, I will readily grant; nor will I deny, that when the News of these Transactions, and how the Children bewitched fell into Fits, and strange unusual Postures, spread abroad in the Kingdom, some fearful and credulous People, if they saw their Children any way disordered, might think they were bewitched, or ready to be carried away by Imps: This happens in all Consternations, and our Fears make us see that which unbyass'd Eyes cannot perceive; and of this a Gentleman who was an Ear-witness, gave me this instance, of a Minister's Child of his acquaintance, not far from Stockholm; who being told, and assured by his Wife, that the Child was carried to Blockula every Night, and convey'd back into his Bed again, resolved to sit up with the Boy, and see whether any Devil durst be so bold as to snatch him out of his Arms. The Child went to Bed, and between 12 and 1 of the Clock at Night, began to groan in his sleep, and seemed to shiver a little, at the sight whereof the Mother began to weep and mourn, thinking that the Child was just going to be snatch'd away, but her Husband smiling at the Conceit, and pleading with her, that the Child's laying his Arms out of Bed, might be the cause of these Symptoms, took the
Child

Child in his Arms, and there kept him till towards 2 or 3 of the Clock, but not Spirit came or medled with him, yet was his Wife so possess'd with the conceit, or fear, of Transportation, that his strongest Arguments could scarce make her believe the contrary; and the same Person, (a near Relation of the aforesaid Envoy) added, how much malice and ill nature was able to effect, whereof he gave this Example, which himself saw, and could testify the Truth of, viz. How in the Year, 1676, at Stockholm, a young Woman accused her own Mother of being a Witch, and swore positively, That she had carried her away at Night; whereupon both the Judges and Ministers of the Town, exhorted her to Confession and Repentance; but she stiffly denied the Allegations, pleaded Innocence, and though they burnt another Witch before her Face, and lighted the Fire she herself was to burn in before her, yet she still justified herself, and continued to do so till the last, and continuing so, was burnt. She had indeed been a very bad Woman, but it seems, this Crime she was free from, for within a fortnight, or 3 Weeks after, her Daughter which had accused her, came to the Judges in open Court, (weeping and howling) and confessed that she had wronged her Mother, and unjustly out of a spleen she had against her, for not gratifying her in a thing she desired, had charged her with that Crime, which she was as innocent of as the Child unborn, whereupon the Judges gave order for her Execution too.

There is no publick Calamity, but some ill People will serve themselves of the sad Providence, and make use of it for their own ends, as Thieves, when a House or Town is on fire, will steal and filch what they can; yet there is no Fable, but hath some Foundation in History, so when wicked People make use of such Arguments against the Persons they hate, it's a sign there was such a thing, that gave them occasion to fix the Calumny; and had not such things been done before, they could not have any colour for their Villany.

I could add a known Passage, that hapned in the Year 1659, at Croffen in Silesia, of an Apothecary's Servant. The chief Magistrate of that Town, at that time, was the Princess Elizabeth Charlotta, a Person famous in her Generation. In the Spring of the Year, one Christopher Monigk, a Native of Serbest, a Town belonging to the

Princess of Anhalt, Servant to an Apothecary, died, and was buried with the usual Ceremonies of the Lutheran Church. A few Days after his Decease, a shape exactly like him in Face, Cloaths, Stature, Meen, &c. appeared in the Apothecary's Shop, where he would set himself down, and walk sometimes, and take the Boxes, Pots, Glasses, off of the Shelves, and set them again in their places, and sometimes try and examine the goodness of the Medicines, weigh them in pair of Scales, pound the Drugs with a mighty noise in the Mortar, nay, serve the People that came with their Bills to the Shop, take their Money and lay it up safe in the Counter; in a word, do all things that a Journey-man in such cases uses, to do. He looked very ghastly upon those that had been his fellow Servants, who were afraid to say any thing to him; and his Master being sick at that time of the Gout, he was often very troublesome to him, would take the Bills that were brought him, out of his Hand, snatch away the Candle sometimes, and put it behind the Stove: At last, he took a Cloak that hung in the Shop, put it on, and walked abroad, but minding nobody in the Streets, went along, entred into some of the Citizens Houses, and thrust himself into Company, especially of such as he had formerly known, yet saluted nobody, nor spoke to any one but a Maid servant, whom he met hard by the Church-yard, and desired to go home to his Master's House, and dig in a ground Chamber, where she would find an inestimable Treasure; but the Maid amazed at the sight of him, swooned; whereupon he lifted her up, but left such a Mark upon her Flesh with lifting her, that it was to be seen for some time after. The Maid having recovered herself, went home, but fell desperately sick upon it, and in her Sickness discovered what Monigk had said to her; and accordingly they digged in the place she had named, but found nothing but an old decayed Pot, with a Hæmatites or Blood-stone in it. The Princess hereupon, caused the young Man's body to be digged up, which they found putrefied with purulent Matter flowing from it; and the Master being advised to remove the young Man's Goods, Linnens, Cloaths, and things he left behind him when he died, out of the House, and was heard of no more. And this some People now living will take their Oath upon, who very well remember they saw him after his Decease,

Decease, and the thing being so notorious, there was instituted a publick Disputation about it, in the Academy of Leipfig, by one Henry Conrad, who disputed for his Doctor's Degree in the University. And this puts me in mind of an Apothecary at Richenbach in Silefia, about 15 Years ago, (I had it from very credible Witnesses) who after his Death, appeared to divers of his Acquaintance; and cryed out, That in his life time he had poysoned several Men with his Drugs. Whereupon, the Magistrates of the Town, after consultation, took up his Body, and burnt it; which being done, the Spirit disappeared, and was seen no more. But if the Stories related in the preceding Book are not sufficient to convince Men, I am sure an Example from beyond Sea will gain no credit. It's enough that I have shewn Reasons which may induce my Reader to believe that he is not imposed upon by the following Narrative; and that it is not in the nature of those Pamphlets they cry about the Streets containing very dreadful News from the Country, of Armies fighting in the Air.

ANTHONY HORNECK.





A RELATION

Of the Strange

WITCHCRAFT

Discovered in the

Village *Mobra* in *Swedeland*.

THE News of this *Witchcraft* coming to the King's Ear, his Majesty was pleased to appoint Commissioners, some of the Clergy, and some of the Laity, to make a Journey to the Town above-mentioned, to examine the whole business; and accordingly the Examination was ordered to be on the 13th of *August*; and the Commissioners met on the 12th instant, in the said Village, at the Parson's House, to whom both the Minister and several People of fashion complained with tears in their Eyes, of the miserable condition they were in, and therefore begg'd of them to think of some way, whereby they might be delivered from that Calamity. They gave the Commissioners very strange Instances of the Devil's Tyranny among them; how by the help of Witches, he had drawn some Hundreds of Children to him, and made them subject to his power; how he hath been seen to go in a visible shape through the Country, and appeared daily to the People; how he had wrought upon the poorer sort, by presenting them with Meat and Drink, and this way allured them to himself, with other circumstances to be mentioned hereafter.

ter. The Inhabitants of the Village added, with very great lamentations, that though their Children had told all, and themselves fought God very earnestly by Prayer, yet they were carried away by him; and therefore begg'd of the Lords Commissioners to root out this helish Crew, that they might regain the former rest and quietness; and the rather, because the Children which used to be carried away in the Country or District of *Elfdale*, since some Witches had been burnt there, remained unmolested.

THE 13th of *August*, being the last Humiliation-day instituted by Authority for removing of this Judgment, the Commissioners went to Church, where there appeared a considerable Assembly both of young and old: The Children could read most of them, and sing Psalms, and so could the Women, though not with any great zeal or fervour. There were preached two Sermons that day, in which the miserable case of those People, that suffered themselves to be deluded by the Devil, was laid open; and these Sermons were at last concluded with very fervent Prayer.

THE Publick Worship being over, all the People of the Town were called together to the Parson's House, near three thousand of them. Silence being commanded, the King's Commission was read publicly in the hearing of them all, and they were charged under very great Penalties to conceal nothing of what they knew, and to say nothing but the truth; those especially, who were guilty, that the Children might be delivered from the Clutches of the Devil. They all promised obedience; the guilty feignedly, but the guiltless weeping and crying bitterly.

ON the 14th of *August* the Commissioners met again, consulting how they might withstand this dangerous flood; after long deliberation, an Order also coming from his Majesty, they did resolve to execute such as the matter of fact could be proved upon; Examination being made, there were discovered no less than three-score and ten in the Village aforesaid, three and twenty of which freely confessing their Crimes, were condemned to die; the rest, one pretending she was with Child, and the other denying and pleading not guilty, were

sent to *Faluna*, where most of them were afterwards executed.

FIFTEEN Children which likewise confessed that they were engaged in this Witchery died as the rest; six and thirty of them between nine and sixteen years of age, who had been less guilty, were forced to run the gantlet; twenty more, who had no great inclination, yet had been seduced to those hellish Enterprizes, because they were very young, were condemned to be lash'd with Rods upon their Hands, for three Sundays together at the Church-door; and the aforesaid six and thirty were also doom'd to be lash'd this way, once a week for a whole year together. The number of the seduced Children was about three hundred.

ON the 25th of *August*, Execution was done upon the notoriously guilty, the day being bright and glorious, and the Sun shining, and some thousands of People being present at the Spectacle. The Order and Method observed in the Examination was thus:

FIRST, the Commissioners and the neighbouring Justices went to Prayer; this done, the Witches, who had most of them Children with them, which they either had seduced, or attempted to seduce, from four years of age to sixteen, were set before them. Some of the Children complained lamentably of the misery and mischief they were forced sometime to suffer of the Witches.

THE Children being asked whether they were sure, that they were at any time carried away by the Devil; they all declared they were, begging of the Commissioners that they might be freed from that intolerable slavery.

HEREUPON the Witches themselves were asked, whether the Confessions of these Children were true, and were admonished to confess the truth, that they might turn away from the Devil unto the living God. At first, most of them did very stiffly, and without shedding the least tear deny it, though much against their will and inclination.

AFTER this, the Children were examined, every one by themselves, to see whether their Confessions did agree or no; and the Commissioners found that all of them, except some very little ones, who could not tell all
the

the Circumstances, did punctually agree in the confession of particulars.

IN the mean while the Commissioners that were of the Clergy examined the Witches, could not bring them to any Confession, all continuing stedfast in their denials, till at last some of them burst out into tears, and their Confession agreed with what the Children had said. And these expressed their abhorrency of the fact, and begg'd pardon; adding, that the Devil, whom they call'd *Loeyta*, had stopp'd the Mouths of some of them, and stopp'd the Ears of others; and being now gone from them, they could no longer conceal it, for they now perceived his Treachery.

THE Confession which the Witches made in *Elfdale*, to the Judges there, agreed with the Confession they made at *Mobra*, and the chief things they confessed, consisted in these three points:

I. Whither they used to go.

II. What kind of place it was they went to, called by them *Blockula*, where the Witches and the Devil used to meet.

III. What evil or mischief they had either done, or designed there.

I. Of their Journey to Blockula, and their Confession.

WE of the Provence of *Elfdale*, do confess that we used to go to a Gravel-pit which lay hard by a cross-way, and there we put on a Vest over our heads, and then danced round, and after this ran to the cross-way, and called the Devil thrice, first with a still voice, the second time somewhat louder, and the third time very loud, with these words, *Antecessor come and carry us to Blockula*. Whereupon, immediately he used to appear, but in different Habits; but for the most part we saw him in a gray Coat, and red and blue Stockings: he had a red Beard, a high-crown'd Hat, with Linnen of divers Colours wrap'd about it, and long Garters upon his Stockings.

THEN he asked us, whether we would serve him with Soul and Body. If we were content to do so, he set us on a Beast which he had there ready, and carried us over Churches and high Walls; and after all,

we came to a green Meadow, where *Blockula* lies. We must procure some scrapings of Altars, and filings of Church-Clocks; and then he gives us a Horn with a Salve in it, wherewith we do anoint ourselves; and a Saddle, with a Hammer and a wooden Nail, thereby to fix the Saddle; whereupon we call upon the Devil, and away we go.

THOSE that were of the Town of *Mobra*, made in a manner the same Declaration: Being asked whether they were sure of a real personal Transportation, and whether they were awake when it was done; they all answered in the Affirmative, and that the Devil sometimes laid something down in the place that was very like them; but one of them confessed that he did only take away her strength, and her body lay still upon the ground; yet sometimes he took even her body with him.

BEING asked, how they could go with their Bodies through Chimneys and broken Panes of Glass, they said, that the Devil did first remove all that might hinder them in their flight, and so they had room enough to go.

OTHERS were asked, how they were able to carry so many Children with them; and they answered, that when the Children were asleep they came into the Chamber, laid hold of the Children, which straightway did awake, and asked them whether they would go to a Feast with them? To which some answered, Yes, others, No, yet they were all forced to go. They only gave the Children a Shirt, a Coat and a Doublet, which was either red or blue, and so they did set them upon a Beast of the Devil's providing, and then they rid away.

THE Children confessed the same thing; and some added, that because they had very fine Cloaths put upon them, they were very willing to go.

SOME of the Children concealed it from their Parents, but others discover'd it to them presently.

THE Witches declared, moreover, That till of late they never had that power to carry away Children, but only this Year and the last, and the Devil did at this time force them to it; that heretofore it was sufficient to carry but one of their Children, or a Stranger's Child
with

with them, which yet happened seldom, but now he did plague them, and whip them if they did not procure him Children, insomuch that they had no peace nor quiet for him; and whereas formerly one Journey a Week would serve turn, from their own Town to the Place aforesaid, now they were forced to run to other Towns and Places for Children, and that they brought with them, some fifteen, some sixteen Children every Night.

FOR their Journey, they said, they made use of all sorts of Instruments, of Beasts, of Men, of Spits and Posts, according as they had opportunity: If they do ride upon Goats, and have many Children with them, that all may have room, they stick a spit into the back-side of the Goat, and then are anointed with the aforesaid Ointment. What the manner of their Journey is, God alone knows: Thus much was made out, That if the Children did at any time name the Names of those that had carried them away, they were again carried by force either to *Blockula*, or to the cross-way, and there miserably beaten, insomuch that some of them died of it: And this some of the Witches confessed; and added, That now they were exceeding troubled and tortured in their minds for it.

THE Children thus used, look'd mighty bleak, wan and beaten. The marks of the Lashes, the Judges could not perceive in them, except in one Boy, who had some Wounds and Holes in his Back, that were given him with Thorns; but the Witches said, they would quickly vanish.

AFTER this usage the Children are exceeding weak; and if any be carried over Night, they cannot recover themselves the next day; and they often fall into Fits, the coming of which they know by an extraordinary paleness that seizes on the Children; and if a Fit comes upon them, they lean on their Mother's Arms, who sit up with them sometimes all Night; and when they observe the paleness coming, shake the Children, but to no purpose.

THEY observe farther, That their Childrens Breasts grow cold at such times; and they take sometimes a burning Candle and stick it in their Hair, which yet is not burnt by it. They swoon upon this paleness, which

which Swoon lasteth sometimes half an Hour, sometimes an Hour, sometimes two Hours, and when the Children come to themselves again, they mourn and lament, and groan most miserable, and beg exceedingly to be eased: This two old Men declared upon Oath before the Judges, and called all the Inhabitants of the Town to witness, as Persons that had most of them experience of this strange Symptom of their Children.

A little Girl of *Elfdale* confessed, That naming the Name of *JESUS*, as she was carried away, she fell suddenly upon the Ground, and got a great Hole in her Side, which the Devil presently healed up again, and away he carried her; and to this Day the Girl confessed, she had exceeding great pain in her Side.

ANOTHER Boy confessed too, That one Day he was carried away by his Mistress, and to perform the Journey he took his own Father's Horse out of the Meadow where it was, and upon his return, she let the Horse go in her own Ground.

THE next Morning the Boy's Father sought for his Horse, and not finding it, gave it over for lost; but the Boy told him the whole Story, and so his Father fetch'd the Horse back again; and this one of the Witches confessed.

II. *Of the place where they used to assemble, called Blockula, and what they did there.*

THEY unanimously confessed, that *Blockula* is situated in a delicate large Meadow, whereof you can see no end. The Place or House they met at, had before it a Gate painted with divers colours; through this Gate they went into a little Meadow distinct from the other, where the Beasts went, that they used to ride on: But the Men whom they made use of in their Journey, stood in the House by the Gate in a slumbering Posture, sleeping against the Wall.

IN a huge large Room of this House, they said, there stood a very long Table, at which the Witches did sit down: And that hard by this Room was another Chamber, where there were very lovely and delicate Beds.

THE first thing, they said, they must do at *Blockula* was, That they must deny all, and devote themselves Body and Soul to the Devil, and promise to serve him faithfully, and confirm all this with an Oath. Hereupon they cut their Fingers, and with their Blood writ their Name in his Book. They added, that he caused them to be baptized too, by such Priests as he had there, and made them confirm their Baptism with dreadful Oaths and Imprecations.

HEREUPON the Devil gave them a Purse, wherein there were filings of Clocks with a Stone tied to it, which they threw into the Water, and then were forced to speak these Words; *as these filings of the Clock do never return to the Clock from which they are taken, so may my Soul never return to Heaven.* To which they added Blasphemy and other Oaths and Curses.

THE mark of their cut Fingers is not found in all of them: But a Girl who had been flashed over her Finger, declared, that because she would not stretch out her Finger, the Devil in Anger had so cruelly wounded it.

AFTER this they sat down to Table; and those that the Devil esteemed most, were placed nearest to him; but the Children must stand at the Door, where he himself gives them Meat and Drink.

THE Diet they did use to have there, was, they said, Broth with Colworts and Bacon in it, Oatmeal, Bread spread with Butter, Milk, and Cheese. And they added, that sometimes it tasted very well, and sometimes very ill. After Meals they went to dancing, and in the mean while swore and cursed most dreadfully, and afterward went to fighting one with another.

THOSE of *Elfdale* confessed, That the Devil used to play upon an Harp before them, and afterwards to go with them that he liked best, into a Chamber, where he committed Venerous Acts with them; and this indeed all confessed, That he had carnal knowledge of them, and that the Devil had Sons and Daughters by them, which he did marry together, and they did couple together, and brought forth Toads and Serpents.

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ONE Day the Devil seemed to be dead, whereupon there were great lamentations at *Blockula*; but he soon awaked again. If he hath a mind to be merry with them, he lets them all ride upon Spits before him; takes afterwards the Spits and beats them black and blue, and then laughs at them. And he bids them believe, that the day of Judgment will come speedily, and therefore sets them on work to build a great House of Stone, promising, that in that House he will preserve them from God's fury, and cause them to enjoy the greatest delights and pleasures: But while they work exceeding hard at it, there falls a great part of the Wall down again, whereby some of the Witches are commonly hurt, which makes him laugh, but presently he cures them again.

THEY said, they had seen sometimes a very great Devil like a Dragon, with Fire round about him, and bound with an Iron Chain; and the Devil that converses with them tells them, that if they confess any thing, he will let that great Devil loose upon them, whereby all *Swedeland* shall come into great danger.

THEY added, That the Devil had a Church there, such another as in the Town of *Mobra*. When the Commissioners were coming, He told the Witches, they should not fear them; for he would certainly kill them all. And they confessed, that some of them had attempted to murder the Commissioners, but had not been able to effect it.

SOME of the Children talked much of a white Angel which used to forbid them what the Devil had bid them do, and told them that those doings should not last long: What had been done, had been permitted because of the wickedness of the People, and the carrying away of the Children should be made manifest. And they added, that this white Angel would place himself sometimes at the Door betwixt the Witches and the Children; and when they came to *Blockula*, he pulled the Children back, but the Witches they went in.

III. *Of the Mischief or Evil which the Witches promised to do to Men and Beasts.*

THEY confessed, That they were to promise the Devil, that they would do all that's Ill; and that the Devil taught

taught them to milk, which was in this wise : They used to stick a Knife in the Wall, and hang a kind of a Label on it, which they drew and stroaked, and as long as this lasted, the Persons that they had power over, were miserably plagued, and the Beasts were milked that way, till sometimes they died of it.

A Woman confessed, That the Devil gave her a wooden Knife, wherewith, going into Houses, she had Power to kill any thing she touched with it; yet there were very few that would confess that they had hurt any Man or Woman.

BEING asked whether they had murdered any Children; they confessed, That they had indeed tormented many, but did not know whether any of them died of those Plagues. And added, That the Devil had shewed them several places where he had power to do mischief.

THE Minister of *Elfdale* declared, That one Night, these Witches were to his thinking; upon the crown of his Head, and that from thence he had a long continued pain of the Head.

ONE of the Witches confessed too, That the Devil had sent her to torment that Minister; and that she was ordered to use a Nail, and strike it into his Head, but it would not enter very deep, and hence came that Head-ach.

THE aforesaid Minister said also, That one Night he felt a pain, as if he were torn with an Instrument that they cleanse Flax with, or a Flax-comb; and when he waked, he heard somebody scratching and scraping at the Window, but could see no body. And one of the Witches confessed, that she was the Person that did it, being sent by the Devil.

THE Minister of *Mobra* declared also, that one Night, one of these Witches came into his House, and did so violently take him by the Throat, that he thought he should have been choaked; and waking, he saw the Person that did it; but could not know her; and that for some Weeks he was not able to speak, or perform Divine Service.

AN old Woman of *Elfdale* confessed, That the Devil had help'd her to make a Nail, which she struck into

a Boy's Knee, of which stroak the Boy remained lame a long time. And she added, That before she was burnt, or executed by the Hand of Justice, the Boy would recover.

THEY confessed also, That the Devil gives them a Beast about the bigness and shape of a young Cat, which they call a *Carrier*; and that he gives them a Bird too, as big as a Raven, but white; and these two Creatures they can send any where, and wherever they come, they take away all sorts of Victuals they can get, Butter, Cheese, Milk, Bacon, and all sorts of Seeds, whatever they find, and carry it to the Witch. What the Bird brings they may keep for themselves, but what the *Carrier* brings, they must reserve for the Devil, and that's brought to *Blockula*, where he doth give them of it so much as he thinks fit.

THEY added likewise, that these *Carriers* fill themselves so full sometimes, that they are forced to spew by the way, which spewing is found in several Gardens, where Colworts grow, and not far from the Houses of those Witches. It is of a yellow Colour like Gold, and is called *Butter of Witches*.

THE Lords Commissioners were indeed very earnest, and took great pains to persuade them to shew some of their Tricks, but to no purpose; for they did all unanimously confess, that since they had confessed all, they found that all their Witchcraft was gone, and that the Devil at this time appeared to them very terrible, with Claws on his Hands and Feet, and with Horns on his Head, and a long tail behind, and shewed to them a Pit burning, with a Hand put out; but the Devil did thrust the Person down again with an Iron-fork; and suggested to the Witches, that if they continued in their Confession, he would deal with them in the same manner.

THE above-said Relation is taken out of the publick Register, where all this is related with more circumstances. And at this time, through all the Country, there are Prayers Weekly in all Churches, to the end, that Almighty God would pull down the Devil's power, and deliver these poor Creatures, which have hitherto groaned under it.

An Account of what happened to a Boy at Malmoe in Schonen, in the Year 1678, supposed to be done by Witchcraft, and attested by the ablest, and most judicious Men of that Town.

HAVING in the Introduction to the foregoing Narrative, taken notice of the *Swedish* Envoy extraordinary, it may not be unsuitable to the subject these Papers treat of, to give the World an Account of a very strange Passage, which the said Envoy has taken very great pains to satisfy himself in; and of which he hath the publick Testimony of the Town where it was done by him, no longer ago than in the Year 1678. An Alderman, or Senator's Son of *Malmoe* in *Schonen*, a City belonging to the King of *Sweden*, the Boy being about thirteen Years of Age, his Name, *Abraham Mechelburg*, going to School one Morning, as the custom is in that place, about six of the Clock, staid there till eight and then went home for his Breakfast, which when he had eaten, he was going back to School again, when just before the Door, close by the lowermost Step, there lay a little Bundle of linnen rags, which the Lad out of curiosity took up and opened, but found nothing in it, but partly Pins, some crooked, some laid across, some without points; partly broken Horse-nails, and Nails without Heads; partly Horse-hair, and such Trash, which when it answered not his expectation, he rent asunder and threw away.

SOME few Days after, the Boy fell ill, and continued so for some time, no Physician being able to guess what ailed him. At last he began to void little Stones, at the Orifice of the *Penis*, which by degrees came forth bigger and bigger, some were perfect Pebbles, of all sorts of Colours, and in process of time, there came forth great uneven Stones like pieces of Rocks, as if they were broken off of a greater Stone, whereof the Envoy hath two by him, one given him by the Father of the Boy, and the other by the King's Chyrurgeon, both which I have thought fit to give the Reader the Dimensions of.

BEFORE the Stones came forth, there was a strange motion in his Belly, as if something were alive in it, the Stones seemed to crack within, and something they heard, as if a great Stone were violently broken, and at this time
he

he felt the greatest pain. When the Stones were ready to come forth, the *Penis* was drawn in so deep, that the Standers by could not perceive any thing of it, and after that, it dropp'd those prodigious Stones, which seemed rather to be fetch'd from Quarries, than produced by any *Saline* or *Nitrous* Matter in the Body. The Stone I have given the Figure of, is of a reddish Colour, with some grains of white in it, heavy, and such as lie in common Roads and High-ways. When the Stones came forth, the Boy felt no pain, the pain being most upon him, when the Stones within seem'd to crack, and a little before; and the Fit was then so violent, that four or five Men were forced to hold him. The Boy in the mean while slept well at Night, eat and drink as heartily as ever, discomposed at no time, but when the Fit of voiding these Stones was coming upon him. This lasted two Years. The Parents had the Boy pray'd for at Church, and instantly besought God at home, whenever any of those Fits came upon him, to turn the Stream, and to stop the Devil's power. The Boy is now as well as ever; rides abroad, and doth all things as he used to do before this Accident befel him. The Envoy spoke both with the Father and the Boy, and tells me, they are no indigent People, but well to pass, and Persons of very good Reputation in the Town of *Malmoe*. While this Misfortune lasted, the King of *Sweden* being then but a little way off, sent some of his Chyrurgeons to the place, to know the Truth thereof, who were by when the Lad voided very strange Stones at the *Orifice* of the *Penis*, and gave the King an Account of it: One of them, to be thoroughly satisfied, held his Hand under the *Penis* after it was drawn in, and there dropp'd a very odd Stone, broad and angular into his Hand. The Envoy being upon the place last Year, inquired of all People, whom he thought might not be very credulous, who unanimously bore Witness of the thing; and upon his request, gave him the following Account, which I have translated out of the Original.

ANTHONY HORNECK.

BE it known, that during the Years 1678, and 1679, a very wonderful Thing happen'd in this City of Malmoe, to one of the Aldermen of the Town, his Name John Mechelburg, and his Wife's Abba Kruthmeyer; for God having blessed them with three Sons, one of them Abraham by Name, a Boy at this time aged about sixteen Years, hath been very strangely afflicted with a preternatural voiding of Stones, insomuch, that during the space of those two Years he hath, through the Virga of the Penis, voided several hundreds of Stones, great and small, which being weighed together, weighed no less than one and twenty Pound, Aver-du-poise, some weighing six, some seven, some eight, some nine Ounces, full of Angles, and much like pieces of a Rock that's broken by force, or Instruments fit for that purpose. These broken Stones sometimes came forth at the Boy's Mouth, sometimes he voided them by siege, and the Parents of the Child have confidently assured us, that before this Misfortune, the Boy had been Sick several Weeks together, and kept his Bed; during which Sickness something was seen moving in his Body, as if it had been some live Thing. After this Sickness there appeared the Stones aforesaid; the first that came forth exceeded not the bigness of half a Pea, but in a short time after they encreased to a greater bulk; when they were ready to come away, the Boy complained much of the Spine of his Back, where, as he said, he found incredible Pain. While this lasted he neither made Water, nor went to Stool sometimes in two Months, sometimes not in a quarter of a Year; sometimes the Stones, when they were pass'd through the Virga, appeared bloody, and upon one of them there appeared a kind of Talch. Notwithstanding all this misery, the Boy continued to eat his Meat very heartily, nor was he troubled with this Pain at all in the Night, but slept quietly, as he used to do. About the latter end of this unexampled Passion and Misery, a matter of sixty four Stones, for the most part small, came forth very fast one upon the neck of another, and since the 20th of September, 1679, this Misfortune hath totally left him, and he is as well as ever; nor is there after all those Torments any defect to be found, or perceived either in his Body, or the aforesaid Member of the Boy, but he continues safe and sound unto this Day.

498 *A Relation of the Swedish Witches.*

And whereas in all probability, abundance of Men, because they have not been Eye-witnesses, will deride these Passages as fabulous, we whose Names are under-written, upon the Request and Desire of the Lord John Leyonberg, Envoy Extraordinary of Sweden, have once more spoken and conferred with the Parents of the Boy, who have shewed us the above-said Stones, and given us one of the biggest as a Present, and do hereby testify that the Passages related in the Premises are undoubtedly true, which Testimony we have also signed with our own Hands, that in case the aforesaid Envoy coming into Foreign Parts, shall have occasion to speak of these Things, Men may give credit to this Relation.

*Given at Malmoe this 20th
of September, 1680.*

*Christophorus Rostius, M. D. & Prof.
Nicholaus Hambraus, Pastor & Præpositus Malmoy.
Wilhelmus Laurembergius, V. D. M. Malmoy.
Martinus Torstorius, Co-Minister, ibid.
Sigismund Ascenborn, Confil. Malmoy. Primar.
John Caspar Heublin, Confil. Malmoy.
Ephraim Kolderwey, Surgeon to the Garrison.*

When the Boy's Father gave the Envoy the bigger Stone, he added this Testimonial or Certificate under his own Hand.

I*N the Year of our Lord, 1678, November 30, this Stone came away from my Son Abraham Mechelburg, through the Virga of the Penis, weighing three Ounces, and upwards.*

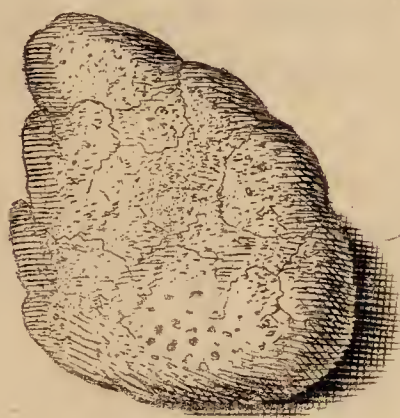
*Malmoe, April
26, 1680.*

John Mechelburg.

The lesser Stone was given to the Envoy, by one of the King of Sweden's Chirurgions, that held his Hand to the Orifice of the Penis, and felt and saw it drop into his Hand.

F I N I S.

*The dimensions of the two Stones
mentioned in these papers.*





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